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# HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.







HONJAT pinx<sup>t</sup>

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ROMAN LEGIONARY







# HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE  
BARBARIANS.

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Containing over Three Thousand Engravings, One Hundred Maps and Plans,  
AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME III.

SECTION ONE.

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO VOLUME III.

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THIS volume contains the history of a few years only, — those which elapsed between the breaking out of the first Civil war and the battle of Actium (83–30). But in this short period the greatest revolution of antiquity was accomplished, — the Fall of the Roman Republic and the Establishment of the Empire.

I first wrote this history forty years ago. Time, study, experience in public affairs, — *usus rerum*, — have not led me to alter the general lines of my first narrative. I think to-day, as I thought then, that Roman liberty had nothing in common with ours; and that the republicans on the banks of the Tiber were a narrow oligarchy, who, after having conquered the world, knew not how to govern it. Guy Patin once said to a First President that, if he himself had been in the Senate on the ides of March, he would have dealt the dictator his twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a literary opinion which it was considered good taste to express, after the example of Cicero extolling the murder of Caesar, and at a time when the Frondeurs in Parliament imagined themselves Catos. “The conquering cause which pleased the gods” is still repugnant to a few men of letters in France; but in free England, as well as in Caesarian Germany, historical criticism now decides in favor of the gods.

Like many others, I could wish that the great Republic, which for centuries had exhibited so much wisdom, might have endured. Was this possible? The answer will be found in this book if the

reader will therein impartially study the transformations which historic circumstances brought about in Roman society. To read it will require fewer hours than the work cost years in writing it, and will lead to the conviction that, while still retaining the ideas of the present day, we may approve of a revolution which was a step in advance for the human race. A hundred families lost by it, but it was for the advantage of eighty millions of men.<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this volume I must express my gratitude to His Majesty King Humbert, who with royal liberality has deigned to place at my disposal the documents published by his government upon the archæological researches carried on in Italy.

NOVEMBER, 1880.

<sup>1</sup> "The establishment of the empire in Rome was a distinct step in advance. . . . It was an enormous boon to ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population" (Beesly, *Tiberius*. p. 147. 1878).

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# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## SIXTH PERIOD.

### THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133-79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

(CONTINUED).

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## CHAPTER XLVI.

### THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

#### I. — FIRST YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (83 B.C.).

FROM Asia, Sylla had announced to the Senate his victories and treaty with Mithridates, and had made no mention of personal grievances or of revenge. When, however, he had crossed from Ephesus to Greece, and was now upon the shore of the Adriatic, having with him forty thousand veterans<sup>1</sup> so devoted to his interests that they even offered him their own money to fill his military chest,<sup>2</sup> he changed his tone, and sent a second message to Rome, in which he recapitulated the services he had done his country and the reward he had received for them,—his property confiscated, his friends assassinated, himself proscribed. He was now coming, he said, in order that his enemies and the enemies of the Republic should receive the punishment due to their crimes. With the design of separating the Italians from Cinna, he ended by promising to respect the rights of the new citizens. All honest men, he said, whether citizens of early or of recent date, had nothing to fear from him.

<sup>1</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ. i. 79*) gives him, in addition, sixteen hundred vessels, and Plutarch twelve hundred.

<sup>2</sup> They also renewed to him their military oath (Plutarch, *Sylla*).

This threatening letter filled the Senate with alarm. The only policy possible was to temporize, and mediate between the two parties. Upon the proposition of Valerius Flaccus, a deputation was sent out to endeavor to pacify Sylla,<sup>1</sup> and bring about an agreement, in which the Senate should be arbiter: at the same time a decree forbade the consuls to continue their preparations for war. Cinna and Carbo



FIGURINE OF TANAGRA: WOMAN PLAYING WITH HUCKLE-BONES.<sup>2</sup>

paid no respect to this decree. They continued to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, everywhere declaring that their cause was that of the new citizens. The Samnites and Lucanians, who had

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiii.; Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 77. Sylla received the deputation kindly, and asked only the recall of those who had been banished, the restitution of their property, and an indemnity for the losses they had undergone.

<sup>2</sup> This charming terra-cotta of Tanagra has the peculiarity of having been burnt upon the funeral-pile of the dead with whom it was interred. It represents a girl playing with dice or with huckle-bones, — a favorite game among the Greeks. Cf. François Lenormant, *Gazette archeol.*, 1879, p. 86, pl. 14.



not yet laid down their arms, promised to support the consuls; but, when Cinna prepared to send into Greece the army thus collected, a sedition broke out, and he was murdered at Ancona by his own soldiers (84).

Carbo, left alone in office, resorted to the desperate measures of a demagogue at bay. He created still more new citizens,<sup>1</sup> whom he distributed, with the freedmen, through the thirty-five tribes. He allowed the tribune Popillius Laenas to throw from the



BAS-RELIEF OF DYRRACHIUM: DALMATIAN WARRIORS OR GLADIATORS.<sup>2</sup>

Tarpeian Rock a former tribune, and to expel from Rome all his colleagues, causing them to be forbidden fire and water.<sup>3</sup> Finally he wrested from the Senate an order disbanding the armies, thus giving himself an opportunity to accuse Sylla of treason, in case he should disobey. For sole reply, the latter crossed the Adriatic (83).

<sup>1</sup> MM. Drumann and Keferstein (*de Bello Mars.*) are of opinion, notwithstanding the distinct language of Livy (*Epit.* lxxxiv.), that it was a question solely of *das Gesindel . . . Fremde und entlaufene Slaven*; for, they say, all the allies were possessed of citizenship already. It is the same error to which I have before referred.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 24; Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiv.; Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 82.

From Ephesus Sylla had come in three days to Athens, whence he had taken the route, by Tanagra and Thermopylae, into Thessaly and Macedon, for the purpose of reaching the Via Egnatia leading to Dyrrachium; that is to say, the point whence he could most easily cross into Italy. He had, however, a fleet of twelve hundred vessels, and might have gone by sea more rapidly and with less fatigue; but the Romans were extremely reluctant to quit the land, and the empty fleet came round to await him in the great Epirote harbor.<sup>1</sup>

He was not without anxiety as regards landing; but Brundisium, which Carbo should have defended and garrisoned, opened her gates. As an expression of his gratitude, he exempted the city from customs, and, three centuries later, Appian says, "The city still enjoys this privilege."<sup>2</sup> Usage permitted the Roman general to preserve his military authority, and to retain his army, until they entered the city. Sylla appeared, therefore, to have a regular title and a legitimate power, notwithstanding the sentence of outlawry that had been passed upon him in the comitia. Metellus also kept his title of praetor, and these appearances of legality were of importance to men who really had no rights on their side but the sword. This Metellus, expelled from Africa, where he had taken refuge during the proscriptions of Marius, had concealed himself among the mountains of Liguria. At the news of Sylla's arrival he hastened to Brundisium to put at the service of the latter his talents and the hatred which the son of Numidicus cherished against those who had proscribed his father. Sylla accepted his offer, and recognized him as a colleague.

The five legions of Sylla appeared a very feeble force in presence of the four hundred and fifty cohorts of the enemy.<sup>3</sup> But they were veteran bands opposed to new levies; and, moreover, he was alone in his camp, while the Marian party had fifteen generals, — Scipio and Norbanus, consuls at that time; Carbo, who had no more talent

<sup>1</sup> Detained at Athens by an illness, he passed the winter of 84–83 in Greece (Plut., *Sylla*, 26).

<sup>2</sup> This statement confirms what we learn from many other sources in respect to the long persistence, in spite of frequent revolutions, of the terms made by Roman generals with nations and cities.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 27. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 82) says two hundred of five hundred men each, which is more probable; but he adds that later the number increased. The five legions of Sylla, with the auxiliaries, numbered perhaps forty thousand men.

as a general than as a party leader; Brutus, Caelius, Carinas, and others. Sertorius as yet was but a subordinate. Most of the Italians were in favor of Carbo. The cities of Greek origin, however, with a few Cisalpine tribes, the Piceni, and the Marsian confederation, which was always a rival to the Samnite league, showed hostile intentions. The Marian party chose to demand hostages, and at once many cities refused. "Do you know," Carbo said to a magistrate of Placentia who resisted his orders, "do you know that I have plenty of swords?"—"But I," replied the old man calmly, "plenty of years."<sup>1</sup>

All this augured well for Sylla, and the severe discipline in his army at once gained the good will of the country through which he passed. The nobility everywhere were naturally favorable to him. Crassus, who had lived for eight months hidden in a cave, Cethegus, Dolabella, and M. Lucullus, the brother of Sylla's quaestor, all brought to his party the distinction attached to their names. The proscriptions set on foot by the younger Marius against the most illustrious of the senators completed the work of making Sylla's cause that of the Roman aristocracy.

The most important aid came to him from a young man as yet unknown, the son of Pompeius Strabo, afterwards Pompey the Great. The Marian party had disturbed this young man in his possession of the vast estates his father had acquired during a long command in Picenum. He was called upon to make restitution of the spoils of Asculum, which Strabo, it was said, had appropriated. A suit followed, gained by Pompey; but he never forgot that his ruin had been attempted. When he learned that Sylla had arrived in Italy, he raised a volunteer corps among his shepherds and tenants, defeated several detachments, and by these victories so increased his band that he was able to form from it three legions, which he placed at the service of Sylla. He was at this time only twenty-three years of age. The first time that he appeared before the proconsul, the latter received him with great respect, and saluted him as imperator,—a title giving this young man the rights of the military imperium, and confirming him in an independent command.

An unexplained event at this time threw the city of Rome

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Pomp.* 6 ; *Crass.* 6 ; Val. Max., VI. ii. 10.



into consternation. On the 6th of July, 83 B.C., a fire destroyed the Capitol, and not even the Sibylline books were saved.<sup>1</sup> This destruction of the sanctuary of the Republic, and of the oracles which were believed to give to the Senate the secrets of divine wisdom, appeared to many as the announcement of a new rule. In fact, the time was come, and the man.<sup>2</sup>

From Apulia, Sylla passed without opposition into Campania, "requiring his soldiers to respect harvests, persons, and cities." In a civil war the first successes are important, because they decide the irresolute, and place public opinion on the side of the conqueror. Sylla, "by turns lion and fox," neglected nothing that could secure this advantage. The goddess Enyo renewed to him her promises of victory; and many good omens encouraged his soldiers.

At Rome, men remembered the proscriptions of Marius, and dreaded those of Sylla, feeling well assured that he also, in his turn, would desire "ruins and massacres, punishments and conflagrations."<sup>3</sup> And so the more violent

partisans were for the moment set aside; and for the year 83, L. Scipio, great-grandson of the conqueror of Antiochus, and C. Norbanus were installed in the curule chairs, — two inefficient persons,<sup>4</sup> but representatives of that moderate party which in extreme crises always supplies victims.

With one of the two consular armies Norbanus covered Capua: Scipio, with the other, advanced as far as the neighborhood of Teanum. Sylla threw himself between the two, and killed seven thousand men of the army of Norbanus, while the remainder fled

for shelter into Capua and Naples; after which, he hastened to



BIRD-CATCHER.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Custodum negligentia*, says Cassiodorus in his chronicle (*Ad Ann.* 670).

<sup>2</sup> "It was the sign," says Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 83), "announcing the carnage of citizens, the sack of Italy, the servitude of Rome, and the annihilation of the Republic" (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 12, and *Hist.* iii. 72).

<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. (*De Off.* ii. 14) says of Norbanus, *Seditiosus et inutilis civis*.

<sup>5</sup> From a gem (enlarged).



meet Scipio. This time, instead of attacking at once, he proposed a truce and a conference. The two chiefs met, — both men of old family, and having the same interests at heart. The interview was amicable. Sylla prolonged it; and, while the generals were discussing conditions of peace, the soldiers of Sylla mingled freely with those of the consular army, relating their campaigns, and showing the gold that they had gained under a general always lucky and always liberal. Vainly did Sertorius warn Scipio of the danger that he was incurring: the negotiations continued. When Sylla at last suddenly broke off the armistice, the army of Scipio, to a man, went over to Sylla.

Scipio was left at liberty to depart. Sylla had taken the consul's measure, and believed that he had nothing to fear from him. It might have been expected that, after this double success, he would carry forward his operations rapidly and shortly present himself under the walls of Rome. But, though master in Campania, he had not yet occupied all the cities: his adversaries held Nola, Capua, and Naples; and bad news came in to him from various points. In his rear and on his flank the Lucaniâns and Samnites were in arms. At Rome the defeat of the consuls had restored influence to the revolutionary party; and they raised to the consulship, in the year 82, Carbo, formerly the colleague of Cinna, and Marius, the adopted son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, both illegally elected; for one had too recently relinquished the consular insignia, while the other, being but twenty-seven years of age, had no right to assume them. But can we say that laws existed at this time?

## II. — SECOND YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (82).

A SEVERE winter delayed the resumption of military operations; and the consuls employed the time in organizing their resistance. They despoiled the temples of their wealth, melted down the gold and silver offerings of victory or devotion, and thus obtained fourteen thousand pounds of gold, and six thousand pounds of silver, having a value of about \$2,880,000. With these resources

they made great levies of men in Cisalpine Gaul,—where were always swords for hire,—and in Etruria, whose rural population, half slaves under the *lucumons*, allied their cause to that of the party wishing to enfranchise all the Italians. The Samnites, understanding that the final struggle was approaching, promised to come down from their mountains, and fight in the Latin plain. To confirm this promise the young chief Telesinus came with some of the bravest of his compatriots, and joined the consular army. Rome, terror-struck, yielded to everything. The frightened Senate authorized by a decree the pillage of the temples; the *comitia* proscribed those senators who had fled to the camp of Sylla; and a man of savage temper, the praetor Damasippus, had already marked out for death certain of the moderate party, whom he proposed to sacrifice to the manes of his friends before the arrival of the conquerors. It was a sanguinary war.

Carbo and Marius divided the defence. The former was to close the roads from the Apennines on the side of Umbria and Picenum, through which countries Metellus and Pompey were advancing; the latter, to protect Latium against Sylla, who was approaching through Campania. Marius had made Praeneste the depot of his munitions. Built upon a spur of the Apennines which juts out twelve hundred feet high into the Roman campagna, Praeneste with provisions and a strong garrison was impregnable. Norba, the city with indestructible Cyclopean walls, was occupied by an equal force. From Praeneste, Marius commanded the Latin road, and from Norba the Appian. To prevent the enemy from making his way between the two, he established himself in a central position at Signia, which from its elevated site commanded the right bank of the Trerus (the Sacco), the principal affluent of the Liris: he hoped thus to close all the approaches to Rome.

Before the approach of winter, Sylla had occupied the defile of Lautulae, the gateway from Campania into Latium. As soon as it was possible to recommence operations, he advanced towards Setia, in the country of the Volsci; while his lieutenant, Cn. Dolabella, ascended the Liris, and then the Trerus.

Marius attempted to save Setia, but without success, and then, pressed hard by his adversary, fell back upon his camp at Signia. Meanwhile Dolabella was making his advance felt, and threatening



to turn the left of Marius; upon which the latter, not to be cut off from Praeneste, retreated to Sacriportus in the plain, where the Volscian hills end, and the first heights of the Apennines begin. The army of Sylla, fatigued by a long march in the rain, were preparing to encamp when the Marian troops attacked them. The veterans formed rapidly, and very soon got the better of the recruits whom Marius had hurled upon them with more spirit than



WALL OF PRAENESTE.<sup>1</sup>

discretion. A part of his right wing went over to the enemy. The centre and the left were routed, and were pursued as far as Praeneste, when the garrison closed their gates against the fugitives, fearing lest pursuers and pursued should rush in together; and Marius only obtained entrance by means of a rope thrown down to him over the wall.

The army destined to defend Rome on the south had ceased

<sup>1</sup> Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 113.

to exist. All the way from Sacriportus to Praeneste their dead bodies strewed the plain; twenty thousand men had been killed. eight thousand were prisoners, and the remainder were fugitives, or cowered trembling behind the walls of Praeneste. To the latter, Sylla made clear the fate that awaited them: all the Samnites found among the captives were led out under the walls, and put to death in view of the besieged. But at this very moment Marius was avenging them. From the battlefield of Sacriportus an emissary had been sent off to Rome, bearing to Damasippus the order for massacre. The praetor convoked the Senate, and, when the Conscrip Fathers were assembled, he surrounded the curia with a band of assassins, designated the victims, directed them to be murdered on the spot, and, pursuing them even beyond death, ordered their bodies to be thrown into the Tiber, that the repose of the tomb should be denied them. The pontifex maximus, Quintus Scaevola, who had once escaped the poniard of Fimbria, perished in this last convulsion of the expiring Marian party. When urged to join Sylla, Scaevola had said that he would not break through the gates of Rome, and return thither sword in hand. In the midst of the fury of party strife, men like these were the last representatives of the Republic and of liberty.<sup>1</sup>

On news of what had occurred, Sylla, leaving Lucretius Ofella before Praeneste, hastened his march upon Rome. His troops advanced by different roads, each detachment directed towards one of the city gates, and all under orders, in case of repulse, to fall back upon Ostia, where his fleet lay in harbor. But there was no resistance. The same brutal and cowardly rabble which had dragged through the streets a day before the corpses of Sylla's friends, now welcomed Sylla himself with noisy acclamations.

The army of the north had been no more successful than that of the south. Sylla merely passed through Rome, and hastened to meet in Etruria the other consul, whom Metellus and Pompey had already defeated in Umbria. Carbo encamped near Clusium, with his Italians and the troops that he had obtained from Spain and Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>2</sup> A first battle lasted all day long

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxxvi.; Cie., *ad Fam.* ix. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these Spaniards having gone over to Sylla, Carbo caused the rest to be murdered. About the same time, a general of the party of Sylla entered Naples, and all who could not flee were put to the sword.



without decided result. This engagement was almost a success for Carbo; for while he thus drew the principal strength of Sylla's



CHEST OF PRAENESTE.<sup>1</sup>

army into the centre of Etruria, Lamponius at the head of the Lucanians, Pontius Telesinus with the Samnites, and the Campanian Gutta, at last took an active part in the struggle, coming up

<sup>1</sup> "The heroes have landed, and drawn the vessel up on the shore. Some have been exploring the island, and have discovered a spring of pure water; but the giant Amycos, the king of the Bebryces, forbids them to approach it. Pollux defies him to single combat, and, having conquered him, binds him to a tree. A Victory is flying towards the conqueror, holding a crown. Athene, or Minerva, figures among the witnesses of the struggle; and opposite her is seen a man with great wings, who has been identified as one of the winds, whose assistance was necessary to the Argonauts in these waters. The last scene shows the result of the combat, the Argonaut drinking freely of the spring, near which is seated Silenus." (*Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 417.)

from the south with forty thousand men. Carbo detached eighty cohorts to effect a junction with them, and the whole force were to throw themselves upon the lines of Ofella, and raise the siege of Praeneste, where famine was already raging. But Sylla had seized



DETAILS OF THE CHEST OF PRAENESTE.

upon the defiles opening on Praeneste, and nothing could pass. The eighty cohorts, surprised by Pompey among the mountains, were dispersed; and Marcius, their leader, brought back only seven to his general.



DETAILS OF THE CHEST OF PRAENESTE.

The situation of Carbo was becoming critical. Sylla and Pompey barred the access to Rome; and Metellus had anticipated him in Cisalpine Gaul, arriving there by way of Ravenna, passing with his fleet by Ariminum, the depot of the Marian party. Carbo, however, succeeded in making a junction with Norbanus, who was in command in the valley of the Po. Hoping with their united



forces to overwhelm Metellus, they attacked him near Faventia, at the distance of a few leagues from Ravenna, but suffered a loss of ten thousand men. After the action, six thousand soldiers deserted from the army of Carbo; and Verres his quaestor, beginning the career which has made his name notorious, ran away with the treasure. The two chiefs escaped in haste, one to Arretium, the other to Ariminum. In the latter city, one of the officers of Norbanus, Albinovanus, in order to earn his pardon from Sylla invited to a banquet the principal officers, and, having murdered them, went over to the enemy with a legion. Alarmed at these repeated treasons, Norbanus embarked for Rhodes; not long after, Carbo sailed for Africa, and Sertorius had already taken shelter in Spain. The leaders of the popular party abandoned Italy, hoping to incite insurrections in the provinces.

At this time Pontius Telesinus, Lamponius, and Gutta were meditating a bold stroke.<sup>1</sup> Despairing of being able to force the lines of Lucretius Ofella, which Sylla covered with his whole army, while Pompey was crushing the troops of Carbo near Clusium, they made a dash into the valley of the Anio, probably in the neighborhood of Sublaqueum, gained the Tiburtine road, and carrying along with them the ex-praetor Damasippus and two generals of the Marian army, Marcius and Carinas, in one night they came within ten stadia of Rome. It was their design to enter the city, and to destroy "that lair of wolves, the ravagers of Italy,"<sup>2</sup> and, if perish they must, at least to perish beneath her ruins. It is impossible to say what might have been the consequence of this daring enterprise, had it succeeded; but they lost time in preparing for the attack, and the delay saved Rome. On the morning of the 1st of November the little garrison that had been left in the

FIGURINE OF APOLLO<sup>3</sup>

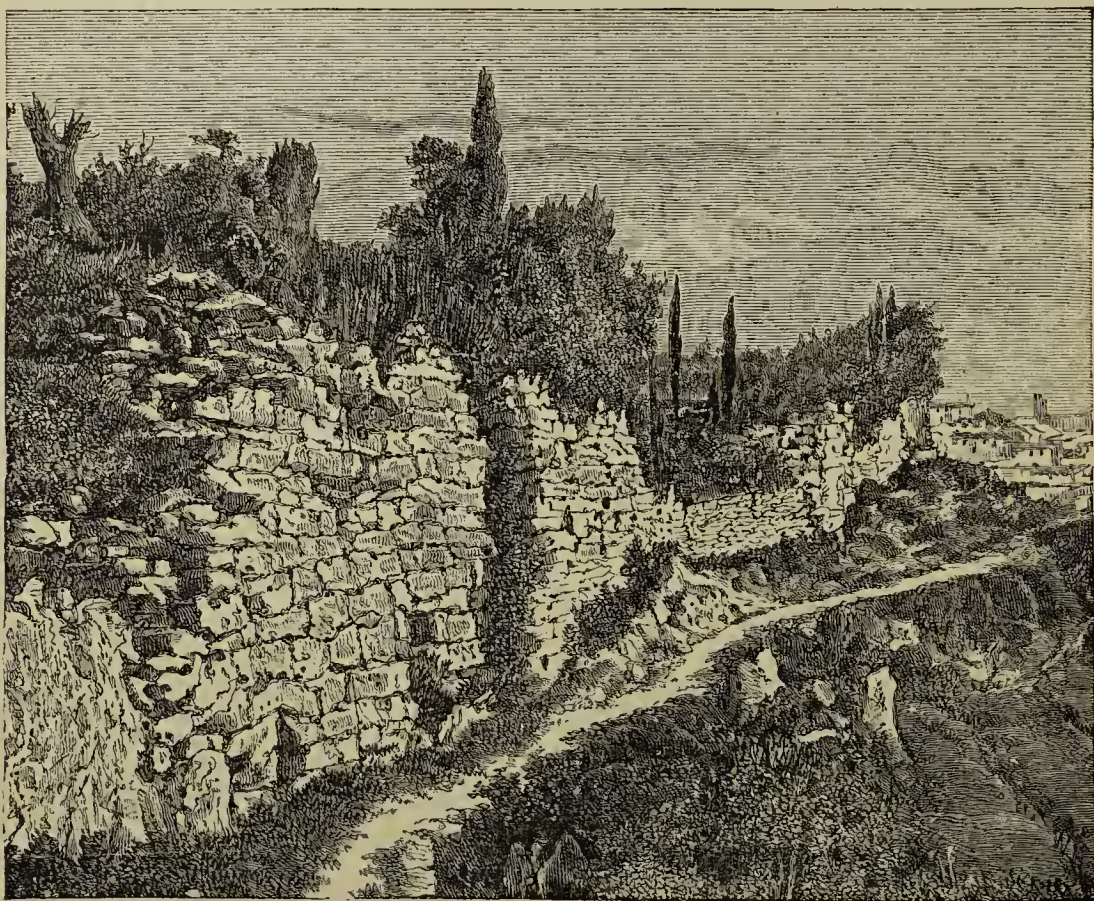
<sup>1</sup> Vell. Patereulus (ii. 27) gives them forty thousand men; Appian and Eutropius, seventy thousand; Orosius, eighty thousand.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 27; *raptores Italicae libertatis lupos*.

<sup>3</sup> Apollo, the sun-god, with a crown of rays, and wearing a chlamys. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2947 of the catalogue.



city made a sortie. Then arrived the cavalry of Sylla, who himself shortly followed with his entire army. At noon they were at the Colline Gate, near the Temple of Venus Erycina. Without allowing his soldiers a moment's rest, he led them against



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF VOLATERRAE.

the enemy. This was the one decisive battle of the war, and, as if to indicate clearly the interests at stake for the last ten years, it was the very existence of Rome that hung upon the event. There was fighting all day long and during the entire night. The left wing, which Sylla commanded in person, was driven back under the walls of the city, whose gates had been closed, and fugitives were fleeing as far

COIN OF DELPHI.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΙ. Two rams' heads and two dolphins. On the reverse, hollow squares with four dolphins. Unique tetradrachm of Delphi, very ancient. (*Cabinet de France*.)

as the lines at Praeneste, crying out that all was lost, and that Sylla was killed. And in fact the general had but narrowly escaped. Mounted upon a white horse, he had ridden in front of his wavering cohorts, when two Samnites, recognizing him, had flung their javelins at him, and only a start of his horse saved his life. He regarded it as a special favor of Heaven, and drawing from his breast a golden figurine of Apollo, which he had carried about him ever since taking it at Delphi, he kissed it devoutly, and thanked the god for his succor. But, if he believed in amulets, he believed also that a man must aid himself. The Samnite army, whose lines of retreat had all been cut, was destroyed. Only eight thousand prisoners were taken, among them Marcius and Carinas, whom Sylla caused to be put to death. The praetor Damasippus had been slain in the combat. Pontius Telesinus, severely wounded, was also put to death by the conquerors, and even after death his face still bore a look of hate and menace. He was the noblest and last of the children of Italy, and he at least had for himself and his people a glorious tomb, — a battlefield heaped with fifty thousand corpses, of whom half were Romans.

When the Praenestines saw the heads of these leaders carried on pikes around their walls, and when, moreover, they learned that Pompey had destroyed the army of Carbo, they opened their gates. All the population, except the women and children and the very small number who could appeal to the memory of some service rendered to Sylla in time past, were put to the sword; and the city, one of the richest in Italy, was then given up to the plunder of the soldiery. Marius had hidden himself in a cellar with the brother of Pontius Telesinus. Not choosing to be taken alive, they fought with one another. Marius killed his friend, and then required a slave to kill him. The few cities that still held out yielded one after another. At Norba the inhabitants, rather than surrender, set their houses on fire, and killed themselves. The Samnites did not give up Nola until the



COIN OF TUDER.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Pan. On the reverse, TVTERE. An eagle. Bronze coin of Tuder.



year 80, and lost in the retreat the last of their famous chiefs, that Papius Motulus, one of the heroes of the first campaigns, who, being repulsed by his wife because he had been proscribed, killed himself on his threshold. Aesernia, Tuder, and Populonia had the fate of Praenestē. Volaterrae resisted more than two years longer. The ruined cities and immense wastes in Etruria and Samnium long recalled to succeeding generations that the wrath of Sylla had swept over these countries.

COIN OF POPULONIA.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A wild boar walking over rocks. Silver coin of Populonia. Reverse smooth. (See vol. i. p. 76.) In the *Revue archéol.*, August, 1879, M. Bompais argues against the opinion that all the Etruscan coins, smooth on the reverse, were of Populonia.

<sup>2</sup> Head of beardless Janus, covered with the *pileus*.

A SEXTANS OF VOLATERRAE.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA, FROM NOVEMBER, 82 B.C., TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79 B.C.

#### I. — PROSCRIPTIONS.

SYLLA belongs to that family of ruthless levellers, who in cold blood, without hatred or anger, break and crush in order to unite, — the Richelieu of the aristocracy. In the Social war he had struck all the terrible blows: at Chaeronea and Orchomenus he had defeated Mithridates, and for the second time conquered the East; at Sacriportus and at the battle of the Colline Gate he had destroyed all that was left of the popular and of the Italian parties leagued together against him. He had everywhere asserted the cause of Rome, the unity of the Empire, and, without intending it, he had become the avenging arm of the aristocracy. Italians and provincials, factions, tribunes, and demagogue consuls, had all felt the weight of his arm. From the banks of the Tiber to Mount Taurus reigned silence and terror. There was no longer a people, a Senate, a constitution: there was one man at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers.

After having broken everything down, this man proposed to reconstruct. In order to lay a solid foundation, he believed it necessary still further to clear the ground, to pull down whatever fragments were yet standing, to remove every one of the chiefs of that generation which had been nourished in anarchy, and brought up in violence. Before renewing institutions, he believed that the men must be renewed, and, after having long made a parade of an unexpected moderation, he now adopted cruelty as a policy. Twice France has seen, in the most bloody epochs of her history, how much more formidable than passion is that cruelty which is the result of logic.

The day after the combat of the Colline Gate, he harangued

the Senate in the Temple of Bellona. Suddenly death-cries were heard. "It is nothing," he said, "merely the chastisement of some offenders;" and he continued his address. At that moment some thousand Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were perishing under the sword.<sup>1</sup> On his return from Praeneste, he addressed the people publicly, speaking of himself in terms of extravagant laudation, and ended by saying, "Soon, if you are obedient, I will ameliorate your condition;"<sup>2</sup> but let none of my enemies, none of those who since the rupture of my truce with the consul Scipio have been opposed to me, hope for pardon." From that day the proscriptions began.

The first blows fell upon the family of Marius. One of these persons, Marius Gratidianus, who had lately done himself honor in the praetorship by the repression of counterfeiting, was pursued by Catiline, and murdered with extreme brutality; after which, cutting off his victim's head, the assassin bore it, dripping with blood, to Sylla, and then proceeded calmly to wash his hands in the lustral water of an adjacent temple. Not even the dead were spared. The corpse of the conqueror of the Cimbri was exhumed, given up to insults, and then thrown into the Anio.<sup>3</sup> Before the proscriptions, Catiline had killed his brother, and he now caused the latter's name to be put on the lists, as an excuse for confiscating his property.

Julius Caesar, at this time scarcely twenty years of age, was a relative of Marius, and the son-in-law of Cinna. Sylla sought to compel him to repudiate his wife. A similar order had been obeyed by Piso and even by Pompey; but Caesar refused to be guilty of such baseness, and took refuge in the Sabine mountains, where several times he narrowly escaped death. The tears of his family, and even of the vestals, at last obtained his pardon. "I let him live," said the all-powerful dictator; "but there is many a Marius in this boy." Such, at least, is the story. Caesar's honorable refusal, however, announces a character too resolute to be

<sup>1</sup> Strabo says three thousand or four thousand; Orosius, three thousand; Dionysius, four thousand; Plutarch, six thousand; Livy, eight thousand [which shows how these authors deal with numbers. — *Ed.*].

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολὴν εἰ πείθονται οἱ (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 95).

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *De Leg.* ii. 22; Val. Max., IX. ii. 1; Vell. Patern., ii. 43; Suet., *Caes.* 11; Quint. Cic., *De Petiti. cons.* 2.



easily bent, and capable, when joined with high ability, of bending to itself both men and circumstances. He found it wise, however, to leave Italy, and went to join the army before Mitylene, which had held out since the time of Mithridates, and while there he earned a civic wreath.<sup>1</sup>

A great number of victims had already perished, when Metellus had the courage to ask Sylla in the Senate when this vengeance might be expected to stop. Sylla answered that he did not know. "Tell us, then, whom you will punish," said Metellus; and Sylla rejoined that he would. He prepared a list of eighty names, which he put up in the Forum. On the following day, another list of two hundred and twenty was added, and on the next a third list of as many more. "I have proscribed all those whose



GARDENS: VIRIDARIUM.<sup>2</sup>

names I can remember," he said to the people; "but I have forgotten several: as they occur to me, I will add them." Metellus was obliged to be content. There was no longer a random character about the proscriptions: order and legality had been introduced into these murders. Any man could, without risk, make himself the executioner, and to the pleasure of committing a murder join a profit of twelve thousand denarii per head. From Dec. 1, 82, to June 1, 81, six long months,<sup>3</sup> murder was authorized, and even later; for Roscius of Ameria was not assassinated until the 15th of September. All who sheltered a proscribed person shared his fate, were he even a brother, a father, or a son. For some of these murders, Sylla paid as high as two talents.

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Caes.* 2; Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix. The city was taken in 80. It is to this epoch that belong his two journeys to the court of Nicomedes III., King of Bithynia, concerning which such ugly rumors were set afloat. Few Romans of the time escaped such accusations, the most odious vice being then general, and almost publicly recognized. But Caesar had other tastes which ought to have preserved him from this disgrace.

<sup>2</sup> Pompeian painting (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.* iii. fifth series, pl. 24, 25).

<sup>3</sup> Sylla returned from Praeneste in the second half of November, and the lists were put up a few days later. The limit of June 1 is given by Cicero, *Pro Roscio*, 44.



From Rome, the proscription spread over all Italy. Bands of Gallic horsemen, led by Catiline and other assassins, went in search of victims. No place — neither domestic altars nor temples of the gods — afforded safety; nor could anything, even services rendered to the cause, protect from a dishonest debtor or an impatient heir. The familiars of Sylla, his freedmen, — especially Vettius Picens and

VILLA ON THE SEASHORE.<sup>1</sup>

that Chrysogonus whose infamy Cicero has immortalized, — his slaves even,<sup>2</sup> sold the permission to have a name placed upon the fatal list. A citizen who had always kept himself aloof from factions, coming into the Forum to look at the lists, found his own name. “It is my

JESTER.<sup>3</sup>

Alban villa which slays me,” he exclaimed, and fled, but was presently struck down by an assassin. The property of those proscribed was confiscated: very frequently Sylla himself sold it to the highest bidder, saying, “These are my spoils.” The courtesans, musicians, and jesters by whom he was surrounded bought at nominal prices. The property of Roscius was valued at six million sesterces, and Chrysogonus obtained it for two thousand. Metella, the wife of the master, appropriated to herself an enormous share of the confiscated

<sup>1</sup> Pompeian painting (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.* iii. fifth series, pl 26).

<sup>2</sup> *Terrulae Scirrhoque, pessumis servorum, divitiae partae sunt* (Sall., *Orat. Lepidi*, in *Hist. fragm.*). *Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sylla omnes suos divitiis explevit* (Sall., *Cat.* 51). Cf. also Cicero, *In Verr.*, II. iii. 35, and Livy, *Epit.* lxxx. 9.

<sup>3</sup> From a terra-cotta lamp (Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.* 307).



RONJAT, PINXIT

# HERCULES AND OMPHALE

From a Pompeian Picture





wealth; so that Sylla was able to make a magnificent offering without impoverishing himself, when he gave to Hercules the tenth of his property. Catiline, one of the most dreaded of the sicarii, in this universal overthrow repaired his wasted fortune; and Crassus laid the foundation of his wealth. It was a dispossession of the moneyed class for the benefit of a few nobles and their retainers. The "cut-purses," who had profited so much by the proscriptions of Marius, gave up their ill-gotten gains.<sup>1</sup> Many paid with their fortunes and their lives for the war they had waged upon the nobles from the judicial seats. Pompey having money enough, thanks to the exactions of his father, had no need to soil his hands with these shameful purchases.

Cicero has preserved to us in one of his arguments the living picture of the abominations which he witnessed. He was never a great states-

man; but he holds so large a place in the literary history of Rome, and, we may say, in the intellectual history of the world, that nothing which he touches should be forgotten.



HERCULES.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 613.

<sup>2</sup> Statue in Greek marble from the Giustiniani Collection (Clarac, *Musee de sculpt.* pl. 787 and 802 F, No. 1998).

He was born in October of the year 107 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> on the beautiful estate possessed by his father, a Roman knight of very cultivated mind, in the neighborhood of Arpinum, near the junction of the Fibrenus and the Liris.<sup>2</sup> On assuming in 91 the virile toga, he became the assiduous pupil of the augur Q. Mucius Scaevola, who taught him the civil and pontifical law. At eighteen years of age he made a campaign, under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Social war;<sup>3</sup> but, having little taste for a military life, he soon returned to his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, and for six years received instruction from the best of the many teachers whom the invasion of Mithridates had driven out of Greece to Rome. After the definite ruin of the Marian party, he ventured to appear in the Forum, and pleaded successively in the civil court for Quinctius, and in the criminal for Roscius of Ameria, thus making his entrance into public life.

As a new man, Cicero had no ties with the nobility, and they made him feel in many a passage of arms that subtle haughtiness of the nobleman towards the parvenu which wounds so keenly.<sup>4</sup> As he had too much spirit not to retaliate, he boldly ridiculed those men "who take the trouble to be born, and whose fortune comes while they sleep."<sup>5</sup> But his refined instincts removed him still further from the crowd, and this contradiction between his tastes and his birth, together with a want of firmness in his character and his opinions, gave him through life an indecision which has marred his fame. We shall now see him as a statesman: later we shall weigh him as a philosopher. At present, in this opening period of his life, we have only to listen to the

<sup>1</sup> Or according to the Roman calendar, which was at that time nearly three months in advance of the true date, the third day before the nones of January, 106.

<sup>2</sup> "This is my own and my brother's country. Here we sprang from a very ancient stock, and here are our sacrifices, our race, and numerous relics of our ancestors. You see this house: it has been enlarged by our father's care, and here he passed in the study of letters nearly all his life. In this place, during my grandfather's lifetime, and while, according to primitive habits, the house was still as small as that of Curius in the Sabine country, I was born, and there is a nameless charm in this place which reaches my heart, and draws me hither. Do we not read that the wisest of men refused immortality for the sake of seeing his Ithaca again?" (*De Leg.* ii. 1.)

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. p. 599.

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of the nobles' contempt for new men, see Sallust, *Jug.* 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Non idem licet mihi, quod eis, qui nobili genere nati sunt; quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur* (*In Verr.*, II. v. 70).



orator. His eloquence was never that of the politician. Under the toga of the consul he still preserved the habits of the bar: as a result of too long a training in rhetoric, speaking well was dearer to him than thinking well. His melodious voice charmed by its mere sound, and all the devices of the schools, the common-places of philosophy and morality, mingled by turns with sarcasm and with pathos, were sure to rescue the accused, however guilty, from condemnation.<sup>1</sup> Like the great orator Antonius, he was not averse to pleading at the bar in behalf of the most opposite characters. The accuser of Verres was the defender of Fonteius: the man who became the judge and executioner of Lentulus was upon the point of undertaking the defence of Catiline. He admitted that one could help success by trivial falsehoods,<sup>2</sup> and he said, "In pleading, we speak as the cause requires, not as our reason dictates."<sup>3</sup> He had all the gifts which are generally thought to make up the perfect advocate.

It has been said that Cicero more than once pleaded with great energy causes already gained. This was not the case in the suit of Roscius of Ameria, which involved an attack upon the all-powerful favorite of the dictator, the freedman Chrysogonus. But it is probable the danger was less than we think. Sylla was an able man. He had made his government a fortress, he had no desire that it should become a den of thieves; and Cicero, secured by Metella and by his own powerful alliances, possibly also by the master's own secret connivance, may have incurred in reality no peril.

Sextius Roscius, host of the Metelli, Servilii, and Scipios, was by birth and wealth the most important citizen of Ameria. One night he was assassinated at Rome by the emissaries of two of his relatives, who, in order to obtain possession of his property, — thirteen farms, almost all of them situated in the fertile valley of

<sup>1</sup> He himself in private life was the first to turn all this rhetoric into ridicule. See his letter to Atticus (i. 14): *Nosti . . . sonitus nostros*. Elsewhere (*Ad Att.* ii. 1) he says, "I have poured into my book all the perfumes of Isoerates, all the essence-boxes of his disciples, and even the cosmetics of Aristotle."

<sup>2</sup> *Perspicitis genus hoc quam sit . . . oratorium . . . quod mendaciuneuliſ aspergendum* (*De Orat.* ii. 59).

<sup>3</sup> Two years after his violent invective against Vatinius, he undertook to defend him. But, he said, *Omnes illae (orationes) causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum* (*Pro Cluentio*, 50). The entire paragraph is the development of this idea.



the Tiber, — obtained from Chrysogonus the favor of having their kinsman's name put upon the list of the proscribed, although this fatal list had been for some time closed. After the murder, the price of blood was divided: three of the best estates were given

A FARM.<sup>1</sup>

to the assassins, and Chrysogonus bought the rest for a nominal price, equal to about nine thousand dollars. The son of Roscius was in the way, for he might some day reclaim his inheritance. An attempt was made upon his life; but he took shelter in the house of one of the greatest ladies in Rome, Caecilia Metella.<sup>2</sup> Unable to

<sup>1</sup> From a painting in the *Museo Borbonico*.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of Metellus Balearicus, who was consul in 123, and sister of Q. Metellus Nepos, consul in 98 (Cic., *Pro Rosc.* 50).

reach him in this asylum, they accused him of having killed his father, and no one among the orators of the time dared to undertake his defence. This duty was left to an advocate but twenty-six years of age, yesterday unknown, henceforward famous. It appears that Roscius was acquitted of the charge of parricide; but we have no reason to believe that his property was restored to him.<sup>1</sup>

What was the total number of the victims? Appian speaks of fifteen ex-consuls, ninety senators, and twenty-six hundred knights;<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, of twenty-four ex-consuls, seven ex-praetors, sixty ex-aediles, and two hundred senators: Valerius Maximus makes the whole number forty-seven hundred. "But who can count," says another, "the number of those who were sacrificed to private animosities?"<sup>3</sup>

One fact, accidentally preserved, will show that these things happened in Italy as well as in Rome. To escape from a capital charge, a murderer had fled from Larinum, a Marian city, and taken refuge in the camp of Sylla. After the battle of the Colline Gate, he returned to his city, assumed the dictatorship there as the representative of the conqueror, and in his turn dispossessed, condemned, and murdered. The man who had been his former accuser was put to death, with all his friends and relatives. How many scenes like these must have happened in that multitude of little cities, each of which had, like Rome, its factions, and each, like her, the revenge of the victorious party when its opponents had been overthrown! A veritable reign of terror weighed upon the entire peninsula. To depict it we have no materials, and the horrors of 1793 would give but a feeble idea of what it was. But it is manifest, that, within the space of a few months, the champion of the aristocracy caused more blood to flow in his per-



COIN OF LARINUM.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cie., *Brutus*, 90; *De Off.* ii. 14; Plut., *Cic.* 3. Shortly after, in 79, in the defence of a woman of Arretium, he maintained that the legislative power could not take away certain rights, among others, citizenship, and that the law which had deprived the Italian cities of the *jus civitatis* was unconstitutional and null.

<sup>2</sup> *Bell. civ.* i. 103.

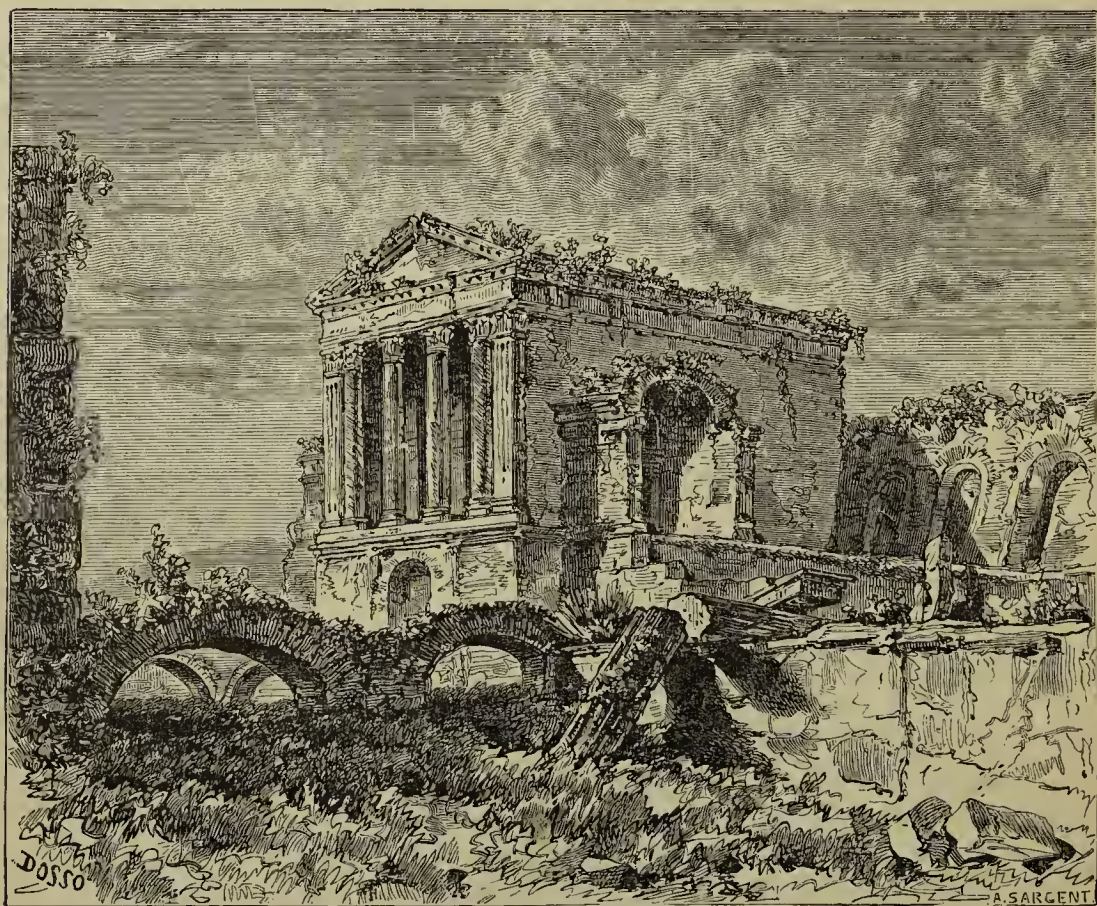
<sup>3</sup> *Flor.* iii. 21, 23.

<sup>4</sup> LARINOD. Armed horseman riding to the left, and five small balls. Reverse of a quineux (or rather pentobolus), in bronze, of Larinum.



secution of the popular party than the emperors shed in a war of two centuries against the faction of the nobles.<sup>1</sup>

The proscription did not stop with its victims' death: it struck at their posterity to the third generation. With the design of taking away from the children of these men the hope and the



SPOLETO: TEMPLE OF CLITUMNUS.<sup>2</sup>

means of avenging them, the sons and grandsons of the proscribed, deprived of their paternal inheritance, were declared unworthy ever to fill any public office.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of the citizens of Rome the proscriptions were of individuals. Like Tarquin, Sylla only struck off the tallest heads: for Italy, however, they were general. Not one Samnite escaped,

<sup>1</sup> *Ultus est . . . Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta deminutione civium* (Cic., *In Catil.* iii. 10).

<sup>2</sup> From Piranesi, *Opere varie di architettura*.

<sup>3</sup> The sons of senators, while losing the privileges of their rank, remained subject to all its burdens (Vell. Patere., ii. 28; Cic., *In Verr.*, II. iii. 41; *Pro Cluent.* 45).

“for,” he said, “Italy cannot be tranquil so long as one man of this people is left alive.”<sup>1</sup> The cities which had furnished soldiers to his adversaries were not only deprived of citizenship, but dismantled: some were destroyed, and all despoiled of their lands, which he distributed among his veterans. Sulmo, one of the three capitals of the Pelignians, Spoleto, and Interamna in Umbria, Praeneste and Norba (two old Latin cities), and Nola, which still held out when the last of the allies had laid down their arms, were sold at auction.<sup>2</sup> Naples probably at that time lost her Island of Aenaria (Ischia); Pompeii, a part of her territory; Stabiae, the whole of hers. Many others thus paid for Sylla’s promises to his army. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.<sup>3</sup> At Praeneste he had ordered all the inhabitants to be brought before his tribunal, but seeing how many there were, “I have no time,” he said, “to listen to all these people: it would take too long to pick out the few innocent among so many guilty. Let them all die.” He was, however, disposed to save the life of one who had been his host. “Life would be hateful to me, if I accepted it from the executioner of my country,” this noble-minded man exclaimed, and took his place in the crowd whom the soldiers were hurrying away.

Etruria cruelly expiated the assistance she had given to the popular party. The men who had been the leaders of the movement fell under the sword, and the military colonies established by the conqueror very soon changed in many places the entire population. “Then,” says Niebuhr, “perished the ancient Etruscan nation, with its science and its literature. Most of the people lost their landed property, and languished in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression stifled in a degenerate posterity all patriotic memories.”

The Latin language and the Roman manners, which colonists bore into those districts where the local idioms, traditions, and religions were strongest, gradually effaced the last remnants of them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Florus, iii. 21, 27. In the case of a division of the territory, the original inhabitants and the colonists, *veteres* and *veterani*, formed in the same city two distinct communes (cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, iv. 450, note 4).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, V. iv. 11.

The Oscan, as kindred to the Latin, disappeared slowly. When Herculaneum and



But, before the fusion was complete, there were many cases of resistance. The protests of peoples perishing under foreign dominion are called by their conquerors acts of brigandage. The outlaw takes shelter in the mountains, and, supported by the sympathy of his people, struggles long and, we may almost say, honorably. After the immense overthrow and confusion caused by this general expropriation, Italy remained infested with armed bands, as, after the outbreak in the Oriental provinces, the sea was covered with pirates. Spartacus and Catiline soon essayed to rally these two forces, already hostile to the society which these two leaders attacked.

The provinces, too, had their proscriptions; and the hand of iron which weighed upon Italy was stretched out over all the Empire. Sylla in person undertook to punish Greece and Asia, leaving it to his lieutenants to "pacify" the provinces of the north, the west, and south,—Metellus, Cisalpine Gaul; Valerius Flaccus, Narbonensis, where the proscribed resisted him in the field;<sup>1</sup> and Pompey, Sicily and Africa. Although habitually moderate, Pompey here showed himself severe. The Mamertines, oppressed by him, claimed their privileges. "Cease," he said to them sternly, "to talk about laws to one who bears the sword!"<sup>2</sup> Carbo had taken shelter in the Island of Cossyra; and Pompey caused him to be brought before his tribunal, and beheaded, after suffering many insults.<sup>3</sup> This death gave occasion for an eloquent apostrophe on the part of an advocate, Helvius Mancius, the son of a freedman. This advocate's great age and obscure birth had been made by Pompey a subject of ridicule in a case where the latter was a witness. "What!" exclaimed Pompey, "is this shade of a slave returned from the infernal regions to set on foot accusations like these?"—"Yes," Helvius retorted, "I return from the infernal regions. I saw there Brutus, with bleeding breast, complaining of thy perfidy, who, contrary to plighted faith, didst cause him to be

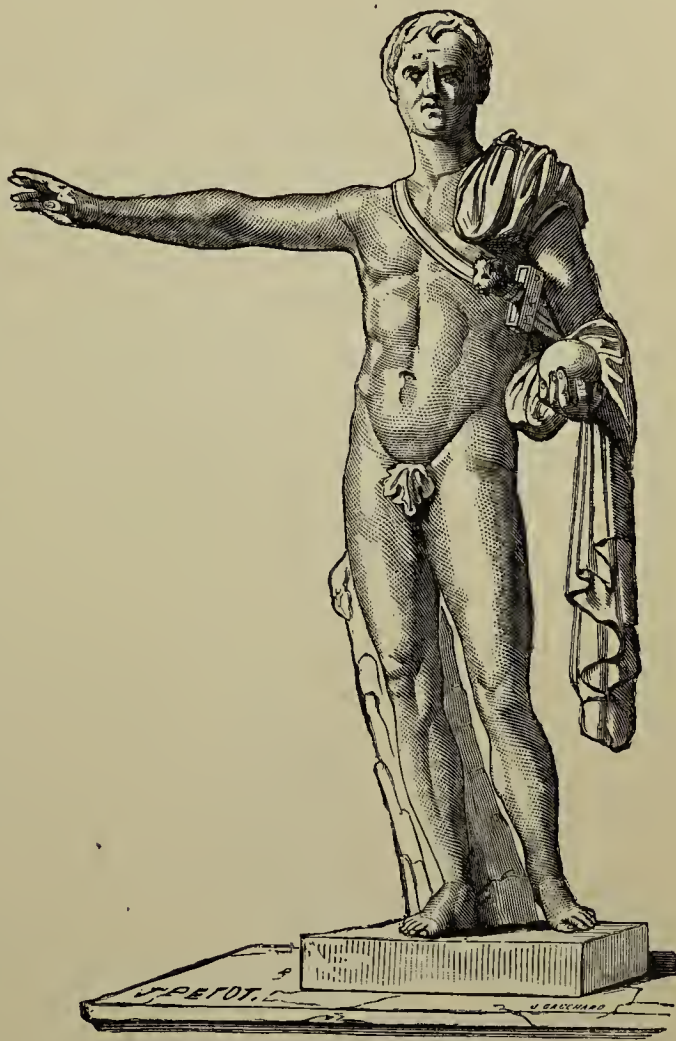
Pompeii were destroyed, the Oscan language was not entirely gone. The Etruscan had been sooner lost.

<sup>1</sup> This part of Gaul must have been extremely oppressed at that time, for it made a protracted resistance. Metellus went thither, and Pompey was obliged to go to his aid. Sertorius also found allies there. (Cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 107; *Philippi Orat.*, in Sall., *fragm.*)

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch (in *Pomp.*) says, however, that in Sicily he did as little harm as possible.

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max., VI. ii. 8.

killed. I saw there Carbo, relating how, as a reward for the services he rendered thee in thy youth, for the care he took to preserve to thee thy patrimony, thou hadst loaded him with chains and obloquy; how, despite his prayers, thou, who art but a mere Roman knight, didst constitute thyself judge of the chief of the Republic, invested for the third time with the consular office, and didst basely put him to death." Brutus, another chief of the popular party, stabbed himself to avoid like outrages.<sup>1</sup> Pompey, however, had not the cold and passionless cruelty of Sylla. Himeræ had joined the opposite party, and it was his intention to chastise the place severely; but the proud answer of a citizen saved it. The young general's soldiers pilaged, and used violence. He put his seal upon their swords, and punished any one who broke it. Norbanus, the Marian consul of the year 83, had already perished. He had taken refuge at Rhodes,



POMPEY.<sup>2</sup>

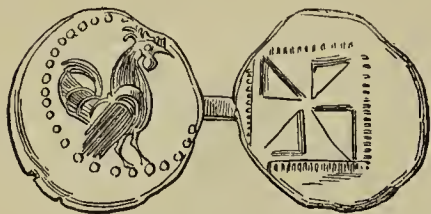
<sup>1</sup> This Brutus is the same person as the praetor Damasippus (p. 683), whose name in full is L. Junius Brutus Damasippus. Sallust (*Cat.* 51) represents his death as occurring after the battle of the Colline Gate; Livy (*Epit.* lxxxix.), in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Rome, Spada Palaeae. This statue was discovered in 1552, near the site of Pompey's theatre. The place where it was found is very near the spot where Caesar's murder took place; and Suetonius tells us that he had seen Pompey's statue in a palaeae where Augustus had caused it to be placed. It is possible, then, that time has respected the colossal statue of Pompey which saw Caesar fall. (Clarae., *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 911, No. 2316, and Wev., *Rome*, pp. 366, 367.)



and, his head being demanded by Sylla, had killed himself in the market-place to escape being given up.

In Africa a praetor had decreed the enfranchisement of the slaves. This was ruin for the Italian merchants of Utica, and in revenge they had burned the praetor in his house. The province, however, remained faithful to the Marian party. A son-in-law of Sylla, Domitius Ahenobarbus, had organized a defence, and per-



COIN OF HIMERA.<sup>1</sup>

suaded Hiarbas, who had just overthrown Hiempsal, the other king of Numidia, to join his party. But Pompey arrived with a hundred and twenty galleys, bringing six legions. In a day he defeated the hostile army near Utica, and stormed their camp, where Domitius perished. Hiarbas was taken and put to death; and a march of several days' journey into Numidia, as far as the desert, restored respect for the Roman name among these nomadic tribes.

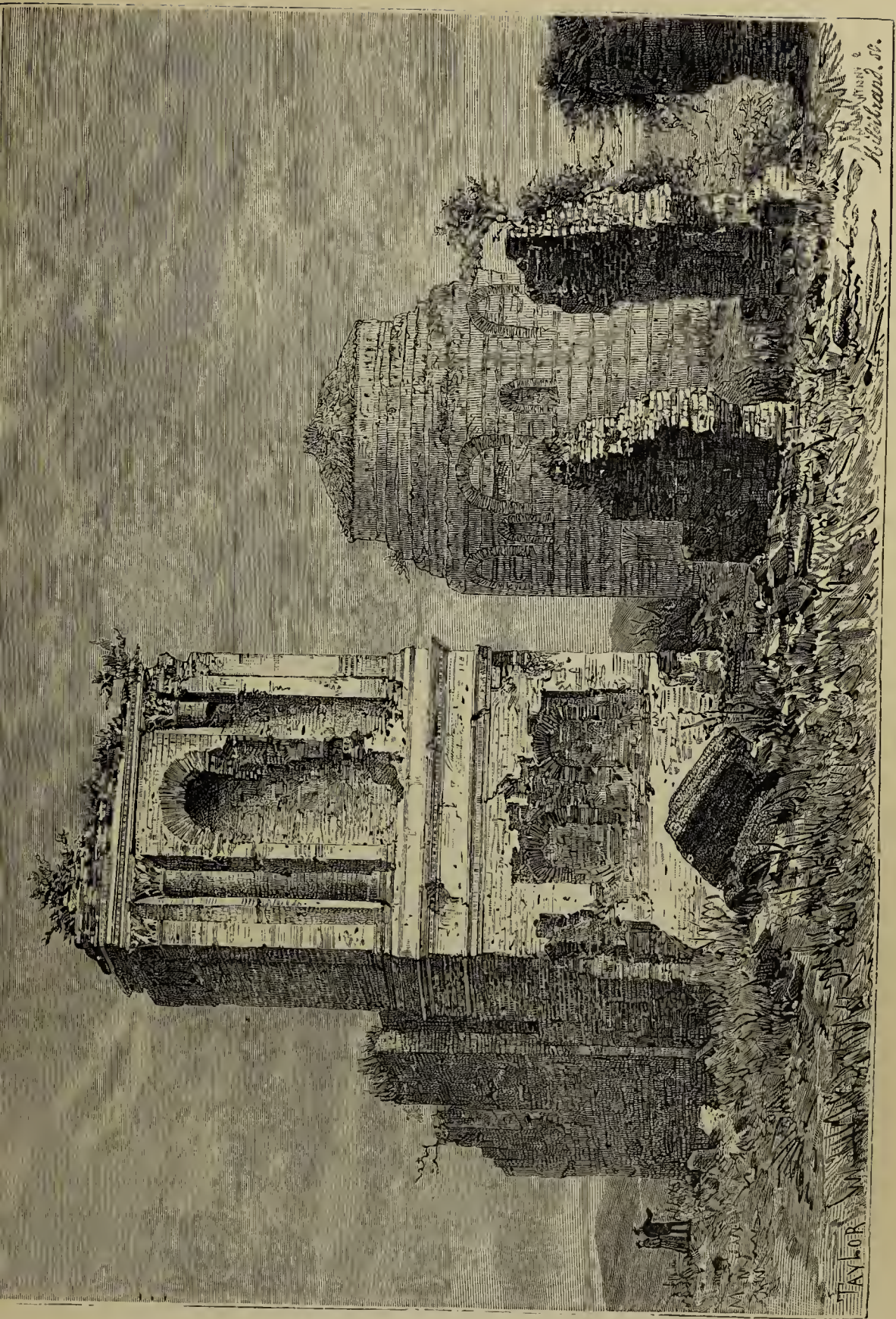
Against Sertorius, master of Spain, the dictator sent the praetor Annius, who drove him out; against the Thracians he despatched the governors of Macedon, — Dolabella and Piso; and against the pirates, the same Dolabella, the praetor Thermus, and finally the proconsul Servilius Valia. But in Asia, where Murena had recommenced the war against Mithridates, Sylla, who saw around him in the Empire itself enough of embarrassments and dangers, forbade his lieutenants to provoke so formidable an enemy.

Suffering much from the war, the provinces were still further oppressed by taxes; for the exhausted treasury of Rome must be replenished. Treaties and promises were alike forgotten. All were forced to contribute; not alone the tributary cities, but also those who had gained immunity and independence either by their voluntary submission or by important services. Allied nations and friendly kings were constrained to show their zeal by the multitude of their gifts. From one end to the other of the Empire there was no person

Pompey was the first Roman who had a statue in *heroic costume*. It is thus that the Greeks represented their gods and heroes; and Pompey seems to have had the vanity to wish himself represented during his lifetime among the demi-gods. Winckelmann (*Gesch. der Kunst*, xi.) speaks of another statue of Pompey, presented in the villa Castellazo, near Milan, completely made like that of the Palace Spada, and believes that it more nearly resembles the original.

<sup>1</sup> Cock. On the reverse a hollow square. Silver coin of Himera, of very ancient style.





TOMB OF THE PISOS (FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).





who did not pay with his blood or with his fortune for this restoration of the old Republic.

Did all this bloodshed, indeed, regenerate the State? Far from it. The result of so many massacres was only to bring in a reign of soldiers. In exchange for the power which the legionaries had given him, Sylla surrendered to them Italy, the



RUINS OF HIMERA : TERMINI, THERMAE HIMERENSES (P. 29).<sup>1</sup>

provinces, and, most costly sacrifice of all, discipline. Now the soldiers knew that desertion might be honorable, that the person of a leader was not sacred, that Rome was not inviolable. Their country was no longer at the foot of the Capitol: it was under the standards, and these standards they were willing to sell to the highest bidder.<sup>2</sup> During these ten years of civil war all the male population of Italy had served in the army. Conquerors or conquered, all were alike impregnated with the idea that rights

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

<sup>2</sup> See the picture drawn by Dion Cassius (*fragm.* 301) of the insubordination of the soldiers. "Sylla," he says, "was the principal cause of these evils."



existed only where there was force. The little respect that yet remained for magistrates, laws, and property, had been effaced by the proscriptions; and from the universal overthrow one thing alone remained in the minds of all, — a conviction of the instability of the present, an indifference in respect to the future, and the need of all men (as during the French saturnalia of the Directory, between the Republic and the Empire) to distract themselves in amusements and debauchery. At the same time, this generation, though ripe for anarchy, was not so for slavery. There was still talk of rights and of liberty; and Sylla reigned in the name and interests of a long-established party.

## II. — SYLLA'S REFORMS.

THE men who formed the party having thus been slain by the sword, Sylla next proposed to kill the party itself by laws. As a law-maker he deigned to assume a legal title. The two consuls being dead, he called together the comitia, and then, absenting himself from Rome as if to leave them entire liberty of action, he wrote to the interrex Valerius Flaccus, that in his judgment the State had need of an absolute dictatorship to restore order, and that it seemed to him no one could be more useful in this office than himself.<sup>1</sup> He was obeyed (November, 82); and, after an interval of a hundred and twenty years, the twenty-four lictors were again seen in the Roman streets, and the axes bound up with rods. But what men had never before seen was this, — the Roman people by formal decree despoiling themselves of all their rights, and giving them into the hands of one man. It was solemnly proclaimed that Sylla's will should be law; that all his acts were ratified in advance;<sup>2</sup> that he should have power of life

<sup>1</sup> The early dictators were chosen for six months only, and their authority did not extend beyond Italy. Appointed for a definite purpose, sometimes not of much importance, they could neither employ the public money at will, nor change anything in existing laws or institutions. Manlius, who endeavored to exceed his powers, was obliged to abdicate. It was an essentially conservative institution. Sylla, giving laws to his country, like Solon and Lycurgus, had nothing in common with the early dictators but the name. (Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 98.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ut ipsius (Syllae) voluntas ei (populo Romano) posset esse pro lege* (Cic., in *Verr.*, II. iii.)

and death without legal proceedings of any kind; that he should have right of confiscating property, of dividing lands, of building or destroying cities, of taking away kingdoms or of giving them, also of appointing proconsuls and proprætors, of conferring the imperium upon them, of determining whether he himself should, during the duration of his extraordinary powers, be appointed to the higher offices of the State, finally, of fixing at his own will the limit of his term of office. This was the Empire before the emperors. Augustus himself was invested with less power than Sylla. Rome accepted this solution of the problem of her destinies, for the same reason which led her to applaud the victories of Julius Caesar and Octavius. Men were so weary of wars and of massacres, so desirous at last to enjoy their lives and property in peace, that many said, "A good king is better than bad laws."<sup>1</sup>

Without using any of the rights with which he had just been invested, and contrary to the ancient usage which suspended the consular office during dictatorships, Sylla allowed the consular elections to take place. In 80 he even filled the office himself, together with the dictatorship; but in 79, being again elected, he declined.

On the 29th of January, 81, he inaugurated his new dignity by a triumph celebrating his victory over Mithridates. There was carried in the procession nothing except pictures of the battles he had gained, and statues representing the Greek and Asiatic cities he had taken. But the most illustrious personages in Rome, whom he had saved from proscription, followed his chariot, crowned with flowers; and their utterances of thanks, in which recurred incessantly the names of "father" and "savior," showed that it was the party-chief, much more than the victorious general, who celebrated his triumph.

Sylla had been all his life only a soldier. He saw clearly that the world could not be ruled by a popular assembly, stormy and venal; and being much more interested in Rome's power than

35). Cf. in *Rull.* iii. 2; *Plut.*, 42. Δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων . . . , καὶ καταστήσει τῆς πολιτείας (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 99). *Penes quem leges, judicia, aerarium, provinciae, reges, denique necis et civium et vitae licentia erat* (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*). The Senate also recognized his right to alter the *pomerium* (Tac., *Ann.* xii. 23; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xii. 14; Festus, s. v. *Prosimurium*).

<sup>1</sup> *Satius est uti regibus quam uti malis legibus* (Cic., *Ad Her.* ii. 26).



in her liberty, which, moreover, had now come to be mere license, he sought to make the silence of camps reign in the Forum. But to secure the citizens from constant disturbances, and to provide them with a regular government, he knew no better way than a return to past methods. He believed the aristocracy were now wise enough to use sovereign power with discretion, and he gave it back to them.



PERSONIFICATION OF CITIES GOING OUT TO MEET THE VICTORIOUS GENERAL.<sup>1</sup>

We shall present the laws of the dictator, not in the uncertain order in which they arose, but according to the different heads under which they may be classed.

The Civil war and the proscriptions had decimated the Senate. Sylla introduced into it three hundred new members, whom the

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 222, No. 301, and catalogue No. 179), found near the Appian Way.

*comitia tributa*<sup>1</sup> selected from among the wealthier citizens;<sup>2</sup> and, to make this assembly the conservative element in the constitution, he restored to them the *judicia*<sup>3</sup> and also the right of preliminary discussion of laws, that is to say, the judicial power and the legislative veto: it was, in fact, the abolition of the Hortensian law.<sup>4</sup> He preserved to the Senate the right of designating the consular provinces, decided that the governors should remain in their provinces during the Senate's pleasure,<sup>5</sup> and, in order to insure that this body should be constantly recruited without the aid of the censors, he increased to twenty the number of titular quaestors, their office opening to them the doors of the curia.<sup>6</sup> The suppression of the quinquennial *lectio*, moreover, rendered the office of senator absolutely permanent.

By the increased extent of the Empire an enlarged administrative staff was required. Instead of six praetors, Sylla caused eight to be appointed, and for them and the consuls he established the rule of proroguing authority. Every year two consuls entered upon their office for the general direction of the government, and eight praetors, of whom two were the original urban and foreign praetors, while the other six were presiding officers of the new tribunals. Their year at Rome being completed, these high functionaries went, as designated by the Senate, to govern the two consular and the eight praetorian provinces, accompanied each by

<sup>1</sup> . . . *L. Cornelius dictator populum jure rogavit, populusque jure scivit.* . . . Such, at least, are the terms of the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (*C. I. L.* p. 108).

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.: *Senatum ex ordine equestri supplevit.* Cf. App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100. On the other hand, Sallust (*Cat.* 37) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (v. 77) state that he appointed the new senators at random, even from among the common soldiers. One sole consideration must have guided him,—to place in the Senate his own partisans, and to take them wherever he could find them, but especially from the wealthier class. In the words of Appian: *ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἐκάστου*, has been seen an entirely new electoral system created by Sylla; but these novelties were not suited to the time, nor had he any taste for them. The vote upon the names proposed by Sylla was but a formality, a ratification of the sovereign will of the dictator.

<sup>3</sup> The praetor drew by lot, to form the jury in each case, a *decuria senatorum*, composed of about forty members. In the prosecution of Cluentius, the *decuria* was reduced by challenges to thirty-two. (Cicero., *pro Cluentio*, 27.)

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.; Vell. Patere., ii. 32; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22; Cic., *Ad Fam.* xv. 9, 14; App., *Bell. civ.* i. 59.

<sup>6</sup> According to Willems (*Le Sénat de la répub. rom.* p. 232), it was only now that the quaestors obtained full senatorial rights, that is to say, the *jus sententiae dicendae*, or the right to express an opinion.



a quaestor. The entire administration, therefore, was derived from the Senate, and returned into it again. As this body, in whose sessions public affairs were discussed, had still further to fill all tribunals, embassies, and legations, the importance of its functions justified the increase in the number of its members. But, even with this increased number, the six hundred Conscript Fathers, constituting a permanent Senate, master of sixty millions of men, formed a narrow oligarchy, who in the future, even more than they had done in the past, considered the Republic as their hereditary patrimony. This Senate we shall now see ruling without intelligence, pointing to the triumvirate by its insults to Pompey and its outbreaks of anger against Caesar, and with its policy, by turns rash and feeble, rendering inevitable that civil war in which it was destined to perish.

As to the people, we need not lament that their sovereignty became an empty show. They had nothing in common with the plebeians of the early days of Rome. The mob of the Forum did not deserve the honor of bearing the great name, and preserving the rights, of "the Roman people." The dictator could not, however, destroy the memory of the old doctrine that the sovereign power always resided in the popular assembly, and by the use of this principle an able man might at any time make a breach in the new constitution. The dictator took all possible measures, however, to make of this popular sovereignty an obsolete idol, fitly relegated to silence and darkness.

The tribunes lost the right of proposing any measure to the tribes,<sup>1</sup> unless authorized by the Senate to do so;<sup>2</sup> and their veto was restricted to matters of private interest, that is to say, they could protect a citizen against the tyranny of a magistrate, but they were no longer able to arrest a measure of government.<sup>3</sup> The exercise of the tribuneship even deprived a man of the right to seek other offices,<sup>4</sup> Sylla judging that ambitious men would avoid

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.: *Tribunorem plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus legum ferendarum ademit.*

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of the law *de Thermensibus* in 71.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *De Leg.* iii. 9; *Tribunis injuriae faciendae potestatem ademit auxilii ferendi reliquit.*  
 • Cf. Caesar, *Bell. civ.* i. 5, and Vell. Patere., ii. 30. *Imaginem sine re reliquerat.* — [Yet surely this was exactly the restriction which ought to have been restored to restrain the tribunate by any wise legislator. — *Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100; Asconius, in-Cic., *Pro Cornel.* p. 78, edition of Orelli. Suet. (*Oct.*

an office which thus compelled them to relinquish their personal interests.

If the tribunes could no longer address the people,<sup>1</sup> if every measure must be approved in advance by the Senate,<sup>2</sup> the *comitia tributa* in reality lost their legislative power. Reduced to the election of inferior officers, they seemed no longer to exist. In respect to the *comitia centuriata*, it cannot be said that Sylla restored to them by the integral re-establishment of the classes their aristocratic character of early days. He left to them the legislative authority; but the necessity that every proposed measure should be preceded by a *senatus-consultum* had the effect of reducing them to a condition of dependence upon the Senate.

In electoral matters the people were still further despoiled of the prerogative they had enjoyed since the year 104, of appointing the members of the pontifical college; the latter being once more empowered to fill their own vacancies.<sup>3</sup> Sylla did not even leave them the right of epigram, that shadow of liberty in which the crowd and certain minds delight more than in liberty itself, for the penalties of the XII Tables against lampoons were augmented.

As to the equestrian order, which for fifty years had played so important a part in the State, Sylla took no account of it. Not finding it in the old constitution, he effaced it from the new.<sup>4</sup> He deprived the knights of the judgeships; their rights as farmers of the Asiatic revenue were commuted into a definite sum;<sup>5</sup> and, expelling them from the fourteen benches that Caius Gracchus had assigned them in the theatres behind the senators, he forced them to mingle with the plebeian crowd. The knights thus lost power, fortune, and that which to some of them was a no less serious matter, — the privilege of display.

The censorship shared the fate of the equestrian order. In

10 and 40) says even, that only senators could obtain the tribuneship. Appian was aware of this opinion, which he dares not indorse . . . οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰ πεῖν εἰσύλλας αὐτῶν [ἀρχὴν], καθὰ νῦν ἐστίν, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετῆνέγκεν. (*Bell. civ. i. 100.*) It would not have been easy to find, year after year, ten senators who would resign themselves to never rising higher than the tribuneship.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Pro Cluent.* 40; *De Leg.* iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ. i. 59.*

<sup>3</sup> Aseonius, in Cicero's, *In Caecil.* 3: *Victore Sulla spoliatus est populus . . . arbitrio creandorum sacerdotum.*

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Cicero, in the treatise, *De Petitione consulatus*, speaks of Sylla's proscriptions as specially directed against the knights.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *Ad Quint.*, I. i. 11, 33.

the eyes of Sylla it was a modern magistracy which aspired to dominate the Senate itself. He suppressed it, or rather he absorbed it into his dictatorship, and did not call for the quinquennial census. From 81 to 70 there were no censors.<sup>1</sup> But the censorship and the knights were to have their revenge. It was by the knights that Sylla's legislation was to be destroyed; and the first censors appointed, nine years after his dictatorship, expelled sixty-four members of his Senate.<sup>2</sup>



COIN OF VALERIUS FLACCUS.<sup>4</sup>

In order to seem to do something in favor of the people and of the poor, he confirmed the law of Valerius Flaccus, reducing all debts by one-fourth,<sup>3</sup> but only to give himself an excuse for suppressing the distributions of corn, which encouraged the idleness of the people.<sup>5</sup>

He had paid his soldiers for their service in the Civil war by giving up to them an immense amount of booty and numberless slaves, whom they had sold. He gave still further to his hundred and twenty thousand legionaries, distributed in twenty-three colonies, the most fertile lands of the peninsula.<sup>6</sup> In Lucania, Samnium, and Etruria, property changed hands. This was the execution of an agrarian law, such as no tribune ever dared to conceive, and the creation of a new people for the new constitution. Like Tiberius Gracchus, Sylla forbade any man to hold more than one lot, with the object of preventing the formation of large estates. He also saw the harm produced by the *latifundia*. But the unfortunate results that he obtained showed how chimerical

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Capitolini*. Asconius says, in Ciceronis, *In Caecil.* 3: *Hoc igitur tam triste severumque nomen populi Romani sic oderat ut intermissum esset per plurimos annos*. An anonymous scholiast speaks of a formal suppression: *Tribunos et censores . . . omnes pro nobilitate faciens sustulit Sulla*. (Schol. Gronov., in *Divin.* p. 384, ed. Orelli.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.* xviiii.

<sup>3</sup> See the letter of Mallius, in Sallust, *Cat.* 33, and Festus, s. v. *Unciaria*.

<sup>4</sup> Bust of Victory: on the reverse C. VA(lerius) FLA(ceus) IMPERA(tor) EX. S. C., legionary eagle between two standards (Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*, pl. xl. Valeria, No. 4).

<sup>5</sup> This, at least, appears proved by the discourse of Lepidus (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*). *Ne servilia quidem alimenta reliqua habet*, that is to say, the five *modii* per month which were given to the slaves.

<sup>6</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100. From an expression used by Granius Licinianus, *Faesulani irruperunt in castella veteranorum*, it would seem that Sylla's colonists did not disperse themselves at random through the country, but that they prudently established fortified positions (*castella*), which would serve them for shelter in case of attack from dispossessed owners.



was the hope which he based upon this reconstruction of petty ownership. To replace industrious inhabitants by a demoralized soldiery was not to augment that rural class which had made the strength of the early Republic: it was only the proletariat that was increased by all the victims of this vast expropriation, and with it the perils of the new Republic. In truth, all that Sylla cared to preserve in Italy was a standing army, which would cost him nothing. But these colonists were ready to sell their services to any one; and Catiline recruited here his incendiary bands.


 SYLLA.<sup>1</sup>

If any political lesson springs from the Roman constitution, it is that the government which seeks to be strong and tranquil must give satisfaction to the needs which successively arise among its citizens. Political organizations are great families, in which the elder sons are under obligation to make room for the younger as fast as the latter arrive at strength, intelligence, and the ability to share in the common tasks. For three centuries this system made Rome's fortune secure. But the aristocracy had long since abandoned it, and Sylla exaggerated this error still further. By his laws, the people and their tribunes on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, were thrown back four centuries, — the former to the obscurity of the position they occupied on the day following the retreat to the Sacred Hill; the latter to the distinction and authority of the early days of the Republic. Could he, however, restore them to the manners of that time, — the nobles to an unselfish devotion to the public good, the poor to patriotism, — and take away from Rome that empire which required further new conditions of existence? Sylla did not even attempt to restore to nobles and people the esteem of the public and their own self-respect. Into the Senate he caused obscure and unworthy persons to enter;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. SULL. FELI. DIC. Sylla on horseback. Reverse of a gold coin of the Cornelian family. This coin belongs to the number of those that have the Lucullian weight, eleven grammes more or less; while the average weight of the other gold denarii is eight grammes. Only four of this kind are known to exist, — two of the Cornelian family, and two of the Manlian. (Note of M. Cohen.) [The only authentic likeness of Sylla is said to be on the coins of his grandson, Q. Pomp. Rufus. — *Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Sallust, *Cat.* 37; Dionysius, v. 77. A common centurion, Fufidius, *ancilla turpis. honorum omnium dehonestamentum* (*Orat. Lepidi*, in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*), became quaestor, and consequently senator.



among the people he spread abroad ten thousand enfranchised slaves,—the Cornelians, who served him as a body-guard against enemies, and on voting-days defended him against the surprises of the ballot. Spaniards and Gauls obtained citizenship,<sup>1</sup> a measure praiseworthy under a different system; and he permitted the Italians, except those who had served against him,<sup>2</sup> to be dispersed through the thirty-five tribes. This was an arrangement already made, which he did not care to reconsider, since his military colonies had almost renewed the Italian population. He had, moreover, in his constitution, made the Senate's share so important, and that of the people so trivial, that there did not seem to be anything dangerous in a concession, which a few years later had the effect of securing authority for the popular chiefs. But, when universal suffrage of the Italians was established from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, it must have required organization; and examples were not wanting which indicated the road to follow.<sup>3</sup> Sylla took no thought of this, and, instead of a system of voting which would have secured order, the spectacle might be seen, on certain days, of troops of electors, seduced by promises or gained by presents, flocking to the comitia, and casting into the urns some dangerous name. Even during Sylla's lifetime one of his enemies in this way obtained the consular office; and in the legal anarchy to which Rome had become accustomed, a consul might undo that which a dictator had done.

Sylla had restored authority to the aristocracy. He did not, however, deceive himself in respect to their morals; and his penal laws, directed against the crimes of which they were habitually guilty, prove that he sought, if not to render them better, at least to intimidate them. To diminish canvassing, he decreed that no one should obtain the consulship a second time until after an interval of ten years,<sup>4</sup> and he forbade candidates to solicit the praetorship before the quaestorship, or the consulate before the praetorship.<sup>5</sup> Lucretius Ofella, the same who so long besieged

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ. i.* 100 ; *Pro Archia*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Sociorum et Latini magna vis civitate . . . prohibentur* (*Orat. Lepidi*, in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*).

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 250–257.

<sup>4</sup> This was the renewal of the law of 342.

<sup>5</sup> App., *Bell. civ. i.* 100. See (vol. ii. pp. 413, 414) the *lex Villia* or *Annalis*, which Sylla sanctioned anew.

Praeneste, sealed this law with his blood. He sought the consular office without having been praetor. Sylla warned him to desist; but he continued, and a centurion stabbed him in the Forum. When the people dragged the murderer into the presence of Sylla, who was seated in his tribunal in the temple of Castor, "Let the man go," the dictator said: "he has acted by my orders." He then related to the people the apologue of the laborer, who, being twice interrupted in his work by the bites of insects, ended by throwing his shirt into the fire.

He had risen by violence, and had been the first man to lead the legions against Rome: he now believed himself able to repress similar attempts by reviving the law of Saturninus and Varius against treason, and he still further extended it. For the future, whoever should endanger the honor and security of the Republic, should violate a tribune's veto, or should arrest a magistrate in the exercise of his office, should be interdicted fire and water; that is to say, exiled. To the same penalty any magistrate was liable who allowed the authority of his office to be diminished in his hands, and any governor who should of his own authority declare war, should lead his troops over the frontier of his province, should incite his troops to revolt, or give them up to the enemy, or should sell liberty to any captive chief. It was this law (of *majestas*) which punished not acts only, but words, that the emperors in later times turned to such cruel use.

By the law *de falsis*, against counterfeiters,<sup>1</sup> or forgers of wills, and against those who bought or sold persons not slaves, and by the law *de sicariis*, against murderers, incendiaries, parricides, false witnesses, and dishonest judges, Sylla punished crimes that were too common in Rome. By his law *de repetundis*, that safeguard of the provinces, he sought to repress the avidity of the praetors in their governments, and it was the only measure which he brought forward for the advantage of the provincials. A man of the past, he desired the conquest, whose rights he had himself renewed, to weigh upon them still; and his law *de provinciis ordinandis* concerned almost solely the interests of Rome. No governor should leave his province without orders: there he must

<sup>1</sup> Upon counterfeiting and the reforms of Marius Gratidianus, see vol. ii. p. 634.

remain until it pleased the Senate to send him a successor, upon which he must within thirty days leave the province, after having placed in two cities of his government a copy of his accounts.<sup>1</sup> He, however, forbade the governors to demand anything beyond what the regulations granted them, and he limited the often excessive expenses that the provinces incurred in sending embassies to Rome for the purpose of praising the retiring governor, and gaining in advance their new master's good will.<sup>2</sup>

Since the Social war, Rome had known neither tribunals nor the administration of justice.<sup>3</sup> Sylla re-organized the *quaestiones perpetuae*, established seventy years before by Calpurnius Frugi. From this time there were eight of these permanent tribunals, presided over by the praetors.<sup>4</sup> As the judges in these courts of justice were all senators, and as their sentences were without appeal, the administration of justice in criminal cases passed entirely into the hands of the Senate. Formerly the right of challenging a judge was very extensive: the new law did not allow more than three to be challenged, unless the accused was a senator.<sup>5</sup> These penal laws were the greatest legislative effort made in Rome since the Twelve Tables.

What he did in respect to the finances is not known; but it is certain that he gave the subject attention, for he increased the number of the quaestors. Tacitus says also that he increased the circuit of Rome, although he added no province to the Empire. He doubtless felt that the re-conquest of Greece and Asia gave him the right to secure for the city the additional space which her increasing population demanded. Perhaps, also, it was Sylla who extended the boundary of Italy from the Aesis to the Rubicon.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The superseded governor preserved *quoad in urbem introisset* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* i. 9) the imperium, his lictors, his praetorian chariot, in fine, all the insignia of office. It was useful to the State that he should traverse the empire with all this display. The imperium was necessary to him, besides, in case he should wish to solicit a triumph [and, in cases of oppression, to secure his safety from his former subjects. — *Ed.*].

<sup>2</sup> Cic., in *Verr.*, II. v. 22; *Pro Flacco*, 40; *Ad Fam.* iii. 8, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Senatus decrevit ne judicia, dum tumultus Italicus esset, exercerentur* (Asconius, in Cicero's, *Pro Cornelio*) . . . *sublatis legibus et judiciis* (Cic., *De Off.* ii. 21).

<sup>4</sup> *De crimine majestatis, de vi, de sicariis et veneficiis, de parricidio, de falsis, de crimine repetundarum, de peculatu, de ambitu, de adulteriis, de injuriis*. Sylla allowed the old tribunal of the *centumvirs* to exist, its competence being mostly confined to questions of inheritance.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., in *Verr.*, II. ii. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo., v. i. 11.



In his restoration of the aristocratic constitution, Sylla was not unmindful of religion, which has been regarded by statesmen of all ages as a useful instrument of government. Notwithstanding the impiety of his conduct in Greece, he professed a respect for the gods, and until his latest hour believed in the predictions of astrologers. At the battle of the Colline Gate he drew from his breast a statuette of Apollo, and gave thanks to it devoutly for saving him from peril. This great gamester had a particular veneration for the goddess Fortune; this profligate was an adorer of Venus, especially that Venus whom he had seen in a dream invested with the weapons of Mars: he offered her a wreath and an axe of gold, the twofold symbol of his own power. In writing to the Greeks he signed himself *Ἐπαφρόδιτος*, the Favorite of Venus: at Rome he would be called Felix. An equestrian statue was erected to him in front of the rostra, with this inscription, *Corn. Sullae Felici*; and to the two children borne him by Metella he gave the names Faustus and Fausta, which have the same meaning. It might be thought that he obeyed a deeply religious sentiment in attributing all his exploits to the favor of the gods. This, however, was not the case: it was merely a common Roman notion. This people believed that in battle victory came less from the skill of the general than from propitious auspices sent by Heaven to one man, and denied to another; so that, the more the gods favored a man, the more they seemed to bring him near themselves and make him one of the elect. To call one's self the object of their constant protection was to claim some superiority of nature. The beloved of the goddess Aphrodite concealed, therefore, an inordinate pride under his piety, like the Jews in their worship of Jehovah, whose chosen people they called themselves.



FORTUNE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A silver statuette in the gallery of Florence, of excellent workmanship and great delicacy of style. It is not quite five inches high. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 454, No. 840.)

He increased the number of pontiffs and of augurs from ten to fifteen respectively, and gave them the right of co-optation. This secured discipline and secrecy in the sacerdotal body, and also



VENUS VICTRIX.<sup>2</sup>

served to place in the hands of the aristocracy a weapon against the popular assemblies, if other means failed. Furthermore, he caused Sibylline oracles to be sought for to replace the books which had perished in the burning of the Capitol; and he rebuilt that temple with great magnificence.

Notwithstanding his immoral life, Sylla enacted many laws to restore the sanctity of marriage, and to arrest the abuse of the privilege of divorce,<sup>1</sup> also the inordinate extravagance then prev-

alent on occasion of funerals and of festivals.<sup>3</sup> Like all sumptuary

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 35, and *Comparison of Lys. and Sylla*, 3; but this law is lost.

<sup>2</sup> Small statue of the Blundell Collection, obtained from the villa Mattei (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 593, No. 1290).

<sup>3</sup> At the kalends, ides, nones, and on days of public games and religious festivals, the expenses were not to exceed thirty sesterces: on other days three was the limit (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 24). He also reduced the price of provisions (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, III. xvii. [II. xiii.] 11). But the list of viands which he taxed is so long that Macrobius is shocked at the luxury it reveals. The funeral scene (next page) reproduces a bas-relief from the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* No. 332, pl. 154), representing the *conclamatio*, or the appeal to the dead with loud voice and sound of instruments, to make sure that he no longer lived. One of

laws, these regulations had no force, and but little duration; the man who had made them even bringing them into discredit by his own example. This, however, was not the case with his penal laws, many of which have lasted in substance even to the present time.

### III. — ABDICATION AND DEATH OF SYLLA.

WHEN Sylla had completed his work, he retired from public life; not through contempt of mankind, nor yet disgust of power, but for the sake of observing the free working of the government which he had constructed. His abdication, however (79), had the appearance of being a challenge to his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own power. But the Senate and the chief public offices being filled with his creatures; the fact that so many men were interested in the maintenance of his laws; his ten thousand Cornelians, and his hundred and twenty thousand veterans scattered throughout Italy, from whom he could at a word reconstruct a formidable army, — all this rendered his confidence by no means rash.<sup>1</sup> It is related that on one occasion, on sending Crassus through a dangerous country, he made the remark, “I give you for escort your assassinated father and all your murdered family.” How many sanguinary memories protected Sylla in his return to private life! And when, dismissing his lictors, he mingled with the crowd, people shuddered at contact with this fatal man. One young Roman, however, no doubt the son of some victim of the proscriptions, ventured to revile him, and pursued him with abusive language as far as his house, when Sylla contented himself with saying, “This insolence will prevent future dictators from doing as I have done;” and in fact none ever have done so again.

Sylla loved his indolence and his pleasure not less than his power. He had loitered in profligacy until the age of forty-seven, before filling the high offices of the State. From that time, it is true, he had filled them continuously; but, as soon as he felt

these instruments is the *tuba*, or infantry trumpet, the *lituus*, or cavalry trumpet. The antiquity of this bas-relief has been called in question by Clarac and Visconti.

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 104.



his work accomplished, he returned again to repose. His farewell to the people was worthy of that insolent royalty which renounced itself, and of that crowd which could be bought for a *congiarium*. He glutted the populace with viands of the rarest kinds and the costliest wines, and in such profusion, that every day there were thrown into the Tiber prodigious quantities that the satiated multitude could not eat. In the midst of these festivities, Metella fell dangerously ill. She had bravely shared his fortunes; but the priests forbade this favorite of Venus to pollute his abode by funeral-rites; and while she lay dying he transmitted to her an act of divorce, and caused her to be carried out of the house. He, however, in spite of his own law, ordered her funeral to be honored with the greatest pomp.

A few months after, as he was witnessing a gladiatorial combat, a very beautiful woman of high birth, Valeria by name, who had lately been divorced from her husband, stopped in passing him, and plucked a thread from his toga. Sylla regarded her with surprise. "I desired," she said, "to have a share in your felicity." The act and words of Valeria attracted Sylla. A few days later he celebrated with her his second marriage.<sup>1</sup>

He spent the last year of his life quietly at his house in Cumae, and to see this man passing his days in hunting and fishing, dictating his Memoirs, reading Aristotle and Theophrastus, or at times mingling in nocturnal orgies with players and buffoons, who could have recognized the former master of the world? Two days before his death, he was at work upon the twenty-second book of his "Commentaries," which he bequeathed, with the guardianship of his son, to Lucullus. The last words written by his faltering hand still extolled his own good fortune. "Fortunate and all-powerful to his last hour," he wrote, "as the Chaldaeans had promised, he lacked only to be able to dedicate the new Capitol." In the midst of his tranquil occupations, however, sometimes the pitiless master re-appeared again. The day before he died, learning that a magistrate of Puteoli<sup>2</sup> delayed paying the contribution furnished by his city for the completion of the new temple, in the

<sup>1</sup> Dion., *Fragm.* 324, ed. Didot.

<sup>2</sup> Ten days before this, Sylla had pacified a sedition in Puteoli, and had prepared a system of municipal law for that city.

hope of being able to appropriate the money to his own use on Sylla's death, he ordered the offender to be brought to his house, and to be strangled in his presence. From the excitement thus caused, an abscess broke: he bled violently, and on the next day died. It has been said that his disorder was a frightful one,<sup>1</sup> and that his decomposing flesh bred innumerable vermin; so that the



CUMAE.<sup>2</sup>

demigod became an object of disgust and horror (78). Such an end was well deserved; but, unhappily, we must discard this very moral but untruthful picture. In human affairs justice sometimes overleaps a generation. It was not until thirty years later, that,

<sup>1</sup> This disease was the *phthiriasis*, or pedicular disorder (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxvi. 86). This malady, though rare, is well known to physicians. It is not mortal, however, and does not occasion this putrefaction. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 105) speaks of a fever which carried him off in a single night; and Plutarch, besides the pedicular disease, speaks of an internal abscess, which burst, and killed him by blood-poisoning.

<sup>2</sup> Engraving from the *Aeneid*, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 183.



on the battlefield of Pharsalia, the Roman aristocracy paid the penalty of the proscriptions of Sylla.

His funeral-rites were grander than Rome had ever seen before. His veterans, summoned from their colonies, escorted the corpse from Puteoli to Rome. A *senatus-consultum* decreed him the honor of a burial in the Campus Martius.<sup>1</sup> The body was borne in a gilded litter, and around it were carried the insignia of



SECOND TEMPLE OF THE CAPITOL.<sup>2</sup>

the dictatorship, and more than two thousand golden wreaths sent by the cities and the legions. The army preceded and followed the corpse as if in a last triumph.

<sup>1</sup> Cie., *De Legibus*, ii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Enlarged from a coin of the triumvir Petilius Capitolinus. In the pediment, Rome seated on bucklers, and the she-wolf; upon the apex, the quadriga of Jupiter, statues of Juno and Minerva, and two eagles. The disks hanging between the columns are bells (*tintinnabula*) used in sacrifices (Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 344), as in Roman Catholic churches. Suetonius (*Oct.* 91) relates that Augustus, having built a temple to Jupiter Tonans, near the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, saw in a dream the latter complaining that the former deprived him of his worshippers. "He shall be thy gatekeeper" (*janitor*), answered the emperor; and, in sign of the office the god was to fill to his divine counterpart, he caused the bell to be hung (*Revue de numism. belge.*, fifth series, vol. ii., 1870, p. 51, pl. iii.; cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 902).

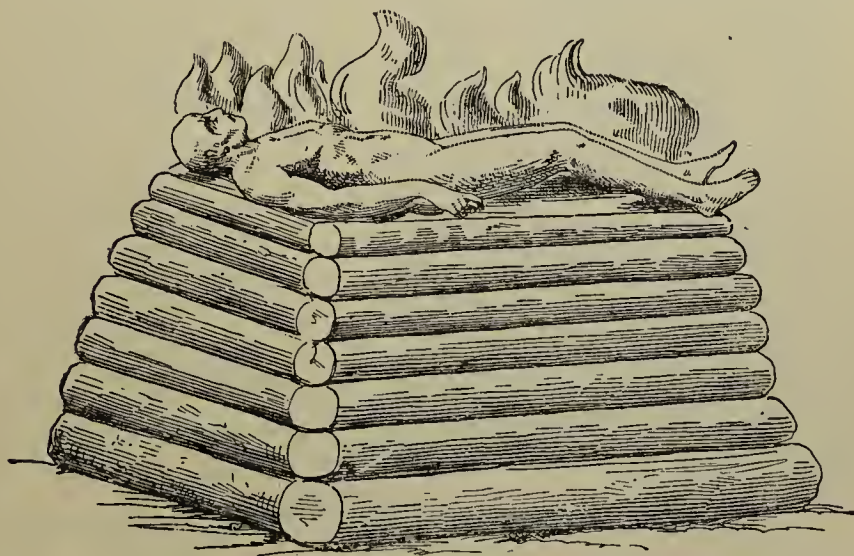


The Senate and the magistrates, the vestals, and the priests clad in their official robes, and all the equestrian order, awaited



OLIVE-WREATH IN GOLD.<sup>1</sup>

the litter at the gates of the city, to accompany it to the Forum. After the funeral eulogy, the senators carried the body on their



FUNERAL-PILE.<sup>2</sup>

shoulders as far as the Campus Martius, where only the kings had been buried, and deposited it upon a funeral-pile; Sylla

<sup>1</sup> This wreath, of perfect workmanship and very pure gold, was found in a tomb of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. iv.).

<sup>2</sup> From a bas-relief, believed to be of the time of Nero, representing scenes from the *Iliad*. The pile is lighted to consume the body of Patroclus. (Cf. Rieh, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, at the words *Ara sepulcri* or *Ara funeris*.)

having directed that his body should be burned, not buried, lest some avenger of Marius might profane his tomb.<sup>1</sup> He had composed his own epitaph: "No man ever did more good to his friends, or more injury to his enemies."

VESTAL.<sup>3</sup>

Thus died in the sixtieth year of his age, tranquilly and without remorse, the man whose policy was the most implacable that history has ever known. "His prosperity," says Seneca, "was a reproach to the gods."<sup>2</sup>

We shall not contradict Seneca, although the gods do not appear to us so culpable. But we feel obliged to seek an explanation for Sylla's serenity after so many massacres. It would amaze us, did we not know that the Romans made a divinity of success (*Bonus Eventus*), that the results of a victory seemed to them, like the victory itself, an act of the gods, or at least an

act directed by the gods, leaving the soul of the conqueror as undisturbed as that of the lictor striking with his axe in obedience to a consul's orders. This ancient fatalism, which filled the drama of Aeschylus and the conscience of the Greek people with religious

<sup>1</sup> Until the time of Sylla, the Corneli were buried, not burned.

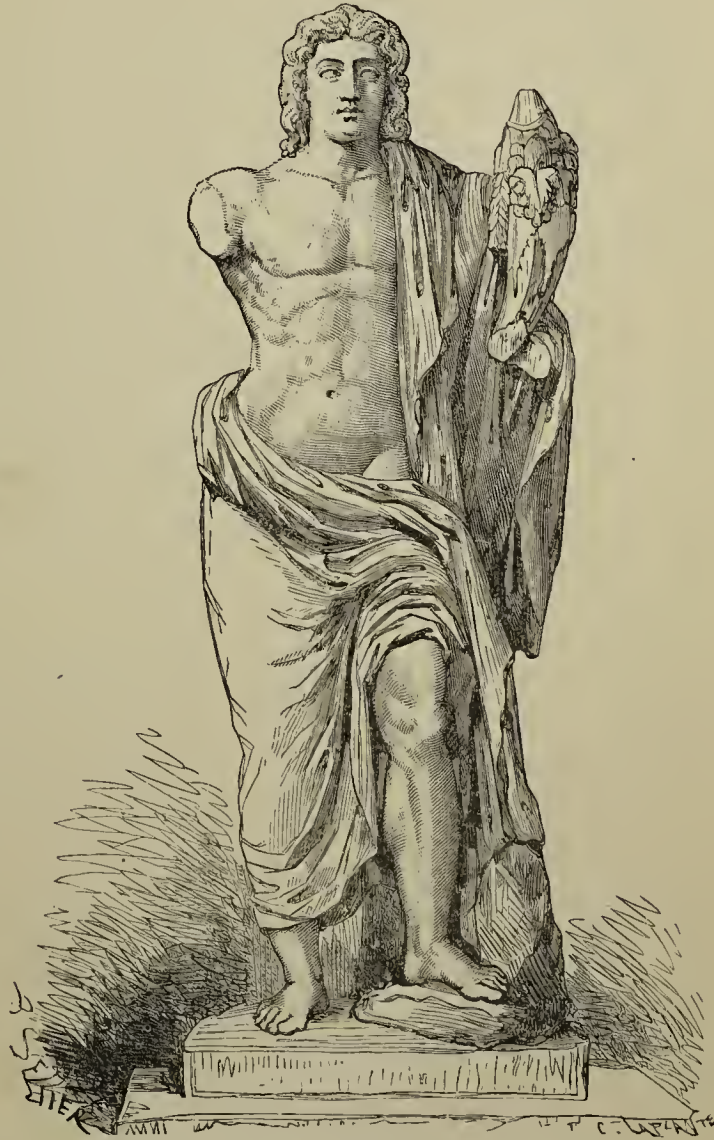
<sup>2</sup> *Deorum crimen erat Sylla tam felix* (Cons. ad Marc. 12). Pliny (vii. 44) is equally severe.

<sup>3</sup> Marble statue, originally belonging to the Collection Chigi, now in Dresden (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 771, No. 1919).



terrors, retained its sway at Rome, amidst the growing scepticism of the times, but exercised itself coldly, without attacking the grand and fathomless mysteries of the *Prometheus*. The Roman mind had not so lofty a range as that of the Greeks; and no man disquieted himself about a lack of harmony between destiny and the moral law. Even for the sceptic, the vanquished were the condemned of Fortune; and to rid the world of them was justice, not cruelty, since justice consisted in acting in accordance with the will of the gods. This is why the terrible dictator died without remorse. And thus it will ever be with those who interpose a false principle between their conscience and their conduct.

Two things mark Sylla's public life, and that which has been considered the less important of the two is in reality the greater. Upon his accession to power, the empire and the constitution were both falling into ruins. The former he saved at Chaeronea, and Rome lived five centuries upon his victories; the latter he sought to re-establish by his political legislation, and his

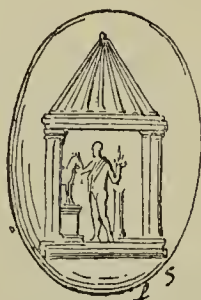


BONUS EVENTUS (PEMBROKE COLLECTION).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statue, of Parian marble, representing the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans. The young god holds in his hand a cornucopia, emblem of the protection he extends over the harvests and over all kinds of enterprises. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 438 F.)



laws did not remain in force ten years. At the same time, when we regard in its whole extent this legislative reform, — the greatest which had been accomplished in Rome since the time of the decemvirs, — we are impressed with the bold genius of the man who



BONUS EVENTUS (P. 50).<sup>1</sup>

executed it: the political constitution, the judicial organization, the administration of public affairs, the private life of the individual, all are regulated here. But Sylla deceived himself. He saw the evil; but, in correcting it, he went no further than superficial causes.

When he had crushed the tribuneship, and restored the legal authority to an enfeebled aristocracy, he believed that his task was done and that he might retire, while in reality he was about to furnish history with one of the most conspicuous examples of the impotence of mere force to found anything durable when it is not acting in accordance with the spirit of the times.

Instead of looking forward, and seeking to understand the ideas which were slowly growing in the provinces, in Italy, and even in Rome, he looked back, and in that blind endeavor to restore the past, he took no account of the new elements which for four centuries had been developing themselves in the midst of the Roman commonwealth. In the ancient time to which he returned, the slaves, the equestrian order, the Italians, we might even say the people themselves, had no political existence; nor had they in his laws. But, in giving no protection to the slaves, he rendered possible the third revolt, led by Spartacus; in taking away the privileges of the knights, he put them on the side of those who wished for a revolution; in crushing the Italians and the people, he made ready an army for Lepidus, a party for Pompey. There is no disaster, even to the nameless war of Catiline, that did not arise from this unfortunate dictatorship. An event of considerable importance had lately occurred, — the extension of the right of suffrage to the Italians; but this Sylla made no attempt to regulate.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 1738 and 1740.

In respect to the provincials he was absolutely indifferent; yet here in reality was the great problem of the time.

This royal authority, which refused to be permanent, did not, therefore, eradicate the fatal germ then undermining the Republic; and, in giving to an irrevocably doomed aristocracy the strength to resist for a while, Sylla only made the death-struggle longer and more severe.<sup>1</sup> It is a hard thing to wish that a people should lose their liberty; yet when that liberty is but a sanguinary anarchy wherein all is lost, — virtue, law, and the moral sense, — when the inheritance of the human race is imperilled by the fault of a people, it must be desired that they return into tutelage, rather than that the world itself fall back into chaos.

Moreover, Sylla compromised his laws in advance by depriving them of their best sanction, — the legislator's own example. No laws are durable but those which defend themselves by their harmony with the general moral sense of the people. But every day Sylla violated the ordinances he himself had made. He had recognized that murder was a crime; but, after the proscriptions were at an end, he killed Ofella and Granius without any judicial procedure. He had appointed a punishment for treason; but all his despatches were sealed with the memento of an act of perfidy.<sup>2</sup> He had restricted expenses; but his lavish gifts to the people, and the pomp of Metella's funeral, were an insult to his sumptuary laws. He had prohibited false coinage; but he himself issued a great quantity of pieces to which he gave an arbitrary value.<sup>3</sup> He had professed to honor marriage; but from many citizens he took away their wives, and condemned the latter to new unions. He had restored the authority of the Senate; but he made senators

<sup>1</sup> Ihne, who much admires Sylla, is, however, obliged to say (vol. v. p. 430), "The Republic was to be saved by no laws or no personal genius." And he adds, "The whole tendency of the age was to monarchy in place of the Republic." This is a recognition of the fact that Sylla's work was in vain; and history condemns all sterile policy.

<sup>2</sup> The ring representing the treason of Bocchus, delivering up to him Jugurtha.

<sup>3</sup> He resumed the coinage of the plated denarii, that had been stopped by Marius Gratidianus (see vol. ii. p. 634, n. 1, and p. 41 of this volume), and by the severest regulations compelled the State's money to be received without any regard to its metallic composition (Paulus, *Sent.*, V. 25, 1), unless we agree with what seems to be the opinion of Ulpian, that the text of Paulus refers to a legislation of later date. (Cf. *Mosaic. et Romanar. legum collatio*, tit. viii. 7, and Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 40, 41.) It is at any rate certain, that, from the dictatorship of Sylla to the time of the Empire, there were as many false denarii in circulation as there were genuine ones (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. 231).

of common soldiers. He had punished adultery; but the disorders of his own private life were notorious. Could other men have any more respect for all this legislation than its author had? He did not himself expect it; and his words to Pompey, on the subject of Lepidus, prove that he had no hope of a peaceful sway for his new enactments. In truth, odious to the people and to the Italians, defended only by stupid nobles and a coarse soldiery, who were ready to abandon it as soon as they had wasted the money and lost the estates it gave them, the legislation of Sylla was opposed by the most active class in the State,—the equestrian order. Even during Sylla's lifetime, two men of this order had begun the struggle,—Pompey, in creating a party for himself among the adherents of Sylla; and Cicero, by his attack upon one of the dictator's freedmen (in the case of Roscius), and upon the dictator himself in a case where the young orator obtained from the judges a declaration that Sylla had not had the power to take away citizenship from the Italian towns.<sup>1</sup> In this re-action Pompey was to be the arm, Cicero the eloquent voice, and both were to be for a moment borne by it to supreme power.

<sup>1</sup> He resumed this topic in the *Pro Caecina*, 33, in the year 69 (?), maintaining that the legislative power cannot abolish certain rights, among others that of liberty, represented by the *jus civitatis*,—and that consequently Sylla had not been able to take this away from Volaterrae.

<sup>2</sup> The *bustuarius* was a gladiator who fought at the funeral-pile (*bustum*) when a dead body was burned. This custom had its origin in the ancient belief that the manes must be appeased with blood. (See vol. i. p. 210.) One of these gladiators is identified as such on the engraved stone copied from Agostini (*Gemme*, ii. pl. cix.) by the sepulchral pyramid in the background.



BUSTUARIUS.<sup>2</sup>



## SEVENTH PERIOD.

### THE TRIUMVIRATES AND THE REVOLUTION (79-30).

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#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

##### POMPEY, LEPIDUS, AND SERTORIUS (79-70).

##### I. — RECAPITULATION OF THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

THE existence of nations is divided into periods which may be called organic, — of full, tranquil life ; and inorganic periods, or those of violent transformation. Nations are in the first of these epochs when they have found the form of government best suited to their present interests, and in the second, when social forces are at strife one with another. The time of the kings was, so far as we understand it, that of the harmonious formation of the Roman State in its social and political aspects. Then followed a century and a half of rivalries at home and weakness abroad. After the time of Licinius Stolo, peace between the two orders being established by equality, the fortunes of Rome were again prosperous. But after the heroic wars in Italy and Africa, — which followed one another, as we have seen, in an inevitable sequence, — and after those in Greece and Asia, which were wars rather of policy than of necessity, there succeeded, as the result of causes which we have examined at length,<sup>1</sup> a new period of interior distractions.

From the elder Gracchus to Sylla, during fifty years, these men, so heroic when facing Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Macedo-

<sup>1</sup> Chapters xxxv. and xxxvi.

nians, once more became the sons of the she-wolf, and murdered each other by way of deciding to whom the world should belong.

That we may be able to follow, amidst all these massacres and devastations, the twofold movement of destruction and renewal constantly going on in Rome during this period,—a movement which, under different forms and names, will continue for a half-century longer,—we shall do well to recapitulate the tragedies we have witnessed, in order the better to comprehend those which are to come.

Two centuries of war, conquest, and pillage, had resulted in concentrating all the powers of the State in the hands of a narrow oligarchy, and in the destruction of that middle class of the Roman people which once filled the legions, and constituted the rustic tribes. There were left facing each other two hostile classes,—the rich and the poor. To prevent these two classes from coming into actual collision with one another, the Gracchi had attempted by an agrarian law to reconstruct a vigorous population of petty rural land-owners, and, by giving the judicial power to the knights, to establish in the State a third class, which might maintain the balance between the other two.

The Gracchi fell by the hand of the nobles, and with them the popular cause—which was that of liberty and of the Republic—seemed to be lost. But this cause offering to ambitious men the means of producing those tumults of the Forum useful to their treasonable designs, patricians and men of consular rank now began to go over to the people, with pretence of defending the latter's interests; and the State thus became divided into two factions,—the determined conservatives and the revolutionary radicals. In reality both alike cared only for power and wealth, the generous enthusiasm of the Gracchi having perished with them. Marius, who reconstructed the popular party, had not the peculiar ability required to be its leader; and his associate Saturninus compromised it by acts of violence, as a result of which, Saturninus was killed, Marius exiled, and the oligarchy again became supreme.

A different solution for the problem of the Roman constitution was sought by Scipio Aemilianus and the second Drusus. They proposed to extend citizenship among the Italians, for the purpose of giving the State a broader base, upon which it might be more

firmly and durably established. Aemilianus was assassinated by the leaders of the lower classes at Rome, whom he had treated with contempt; Drusus, by the knights whom he had sought to deprive of the judicial authority; and the Italians, losing all hope of legal redress, took up arms. A formidable war followed, whose horrors are sufficiently indicated by its name, "the Social War," or war with the allies of Rome.

From this fratricidal strife, the Italians, though conquered, seemed to come out victorious: they obtained citizenship; but the nobles, to render the concession worthless, included the new citizens in certain tribes which never had the opportunity to vote. The nobles also alienated the knights by withdrawing from them the *judicia*.

Marius, now returning from exile, and Sulpicius, associated with him, took advantage of this twofold error of the aristocratic party to gain over to their side the new citizens and the equestrian order. Sulpicius was murdered. Marius was compelled to flee, many times narrowly escaped with his life, and finally, coming back to Rome with an army composed of Italians and slaves, caused great slaughter of the nobles, and himself died just as the avenger of the aristocracy appeared upon the scene.

Both parties, therefore, had blood upon their hands; but the nobles had shed the most. During this fifty years the oligarchy had been five times victorious, each time marking their success by the murder of their principal opponents, and had ended with a ruthless dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>

By a general massacre, Sylla believed he had made an end of the popular party, the Italians, and the knights; and by a whole system of laws bringing back the Republic of three centuries before, in which the patricians were everything, and the people nothing, he believed that he had destroyed all innovations of whatever kind. Essays at reform having thus failed, we are now to see what success will be obtained by the re-actionary party. This we shall learn as we follow the dramatic events of that revolution which was to lead Rome into a new organic epoch, wherein, during the four centuries to come, her destinies were to remain fixed.

<sup>1</sup> Murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 133; of Caius, 121; of Saturninus, 100; of Drusus, 91; of Sulpicius and the friends of Marius, 88; Sylla's proscriptions, 82.



## II. — POMPEY.

THE ten years during which the Cornelian constitution lasted formed one of the most disastrous epochs through which the Republic ever passed, — the epoch in which each man was least secure of the morrow.

The hatred of the people and of the Italians, the resentment of the equestrian order, and four serious wars, were the legacy left by Sylla to his country. Who was to receive this difficult inheritance? A Senate, where the proscriptions of the two parties had left not one man above the level of mediocrity, — the unsuccessful general, Metellus Pius; Catulus, “in whom,” according to Cicero, “was the material for many great men,” but who, unfortunately for the State, was not a great citizen; Hortensius, who lived only for the bar and his fish-ponds; Crassus, less occupied with public affairs than with the management of his ill-gotten fortune and with buying Rome piecemeal; Philippus, who had so well contrived to steer clear of perils for twenty years, and who, having reached the highest honors, rested tranquilly there; lastly, the most capable of all these second-rate men, Lucullus, the eloquent Epicurean, the Athenian Roman who had until that time remained a subordinate, and without inclination for higher duties. These senators, having escaped from such long-continued perils, only desired to enjoy their lives and fortunes, and to occupy themselves in restoring their devastated villas. But around them were coming up a younger generation, more ardent, stronger for good as well as for ill. Cicero was then twenty-eight; Caesar, twenty-four; Cato, seventeen; Brutus still younger; while Catiline and Verres had already filled public offices.

By his age Pompey belonged to this younger generation;<sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Born the 29th of September, 106, Pompey was the same age as Cicero. The date of Caesar's birth is usually given as 100. If that were so, he was but a little over thirteen years old when appointed, in January, 86, flamen of Jupiter; which is rather young for a pontifical office. He was made aedile in the year 65; but, according to the *lex annalis* (vol. ii. p. 413), a candidate for that office must be thirty-seven years of age, which puts back his birth to 102.

decorated with the names "the Great" and "Imperator," and having enjoyed a triumph, he stood apart. And we are here so far from equality, so near monarchy, that without having been regularly appointed to any office, without being senator, without being able to depend upon any political party, Pompey was all powerful in Rome. Cold, irresolute, and as incapable as Marius of a political conception, he has, however, been unfairly treated by modern writers, who love to judge men by trifles, and paint them by anecdotes, even apocryphal, after the manner of Plutarch. No man preserves for forty years the grand position that Pompey made for himself in early youth, unless he is in some way superior to his fellow-citizens. It is true, that, up to his last battle, he merited even more truly than Sylla the title of the "Favorite of Fortune." She did much for him: did he do nothing for her? If he met with propitious circumstances, he also knew how to bring them about, and to extract from them, by boldness or by prudence, the advantages another might have missed. His wakeful nights, his persevering labors to prepare and secure victory in advance, are not characteristic of the man who trusts himself slothfully to the favor of the gods.<sup>2</sup>

POMPEY.<sup>1</sup>

Without being a Cato, he had his frugality, and his aversion for Oriental luxury,<sup>3</sup> with less of affectation and with a reticent dignity which announced the man made for command. One day, being ill, and averse to food, his physician recommended him to eat a thrush. Search was made in the markets; but none could

In placing his birth in that year, we find him of the requisite age in 62 for the praetorship, i.e., forty, and for the consulship, which he held in 59, i.e., forty-two completed years. Now, from 82 to 49, Sylla's law in respect to the magistracies was strictly observed, except in the case of Pompey in 70 and in 52: later we shall see the causes for this twofold exception. When Caesar returned to Rome in April, 49, he gave himself the age of forty-two completed years upon his coins. (Cf. Cohen, *Monn. consul.* pl. xx., *gens Julia*. The coins numbered 14, 15, and 16, bear the figures 52.)

<sup>1</sup> Head of Pompey, from a silver coin.

<sup>2</sup> Πᾶσαν δὲ ῥαστώνην καὶ σχολὴν ἀποτριψάμενος, διετέλει καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αἰεὶ τι πράττων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων (Diod., xxxviii. 9).

<sup>3</sup> Διαιτῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐχρήτο λιτῇ, λουτρῶν δὲ καὶ συμπεριφορᾶς τρυφὴν ἐχουσης ἀπέχετο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τρυφὴν καθήμενος προσεφέρετο πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπεμέριζε χρόνον ἐλάττωνα τῆς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκης, etc. (*Id.*, *ibid.*; cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 2.) Lueullus had introduced the cherry-tree from Cerasus. Pompey brought from the East the use of windmills and watermills, which superseded mills moved by hand, the only kind hitherto known in Italy; and he caused to be translated into Latin, by one of his freedmen, the works of the Greeks upon medicine.

be found. Some one reminded him that the bird could always be obtained from Lucullus, who fed them in coops all the year round; but he would not act upon the suggestion. "If Lucullus had not been an epicure, Pompey could not have lived, then?" he said. He was an eloquent speaker. Even at the age of twenty he defended his father's memory, and made so favorable an impression upon the judge at whose tribunal he was pleading, that the latter, on the spot, took him for his son-in-law. He was a man of distinguished courage<sup>1</sup> (almost his entire life being spent in camps), also of enterprise and resolution. When all Italy was overrun by the troops of Carbo, he declared for Sylla, and brought an army to the latter, which perhaps saved him. This army Pompey was able to retain in his own service while employing it for the interests of the party. He led the troops wherever the dictator desired, — into Cisalpine Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Everywhere he was victorious; and his success made an impression upon Sylla, who believed that he could see in this young leader, always fortunate, that same fatality of success which he delighted to recognize in himself.

The terrible dictator was, so to speak, subjugated; and, that this invincible good fortune might never be arrayed against his own, he caused Pompey to enter his family, giving him in marriage his grand-daughter Aemilia. At one time, however, Sylla experienced a momentary distrust of the young general; and, after Pompey had conquered Domitius and Hiarbas, he ordered him to disband his troops. The soldiers were offended at the idea of losing the pleasure and profits of a triumphal entry into Rome; but Pompey appeased them, and returned alone. This loyalty saved him. Sylla, with all the people, went out to meet him, and saluted him with the title of "the Great." But Pompey was eager for a triumph, a magnificent triumph; and he had brought back from Africa elephants to draw his chariot; but Sylla refused it to him, for the young general was not even as yet a senator. Upon this, Pompey went so far as to bid Sylla beware, and remember that the rising sun has more worshippers than the setting. His words produced an immense effect upon the crowd; and Sylla, overcome with sur-

<sup>1</sup> At the assault on the camp of Domitius he fought without his helmet (Plut. 11, *Pomp.*).



prise, for the first time in his life yielded. "Let him triumph!" he said, and repeated the words (81). The people applauded Pompey's boldness, and gazed with delight upon this general who did not tremble before the man whom all the world feared.

Pompey had up to this time held no public office. He preferred to the consular dignity the position he had made for himself, without election by people or Senate. Sole among the chiefs of Sylla's party, he had never taken part in the proscriptions, or at least in the pillage that followed them. At Asculum, during the Social war, he had taken only a few books. This, again, was a happy peculiarity, a reproach to the conquerors, as it were, and a hope for the conquered. Beloved by the soldiers, respected by the people, he possessed an influence which he refused to employ, because he did not desire an obscure consulship, and he saw that the time had not yet come for him to distinguish himself in that office. He was, besides, only twenty-eight years of age and could have aspired so high only by violating the law. But he took pleasure in showing his influence by supporting a candidate whom the Senate disapproved. Notwithstanding their ill-will, Lepidus was elected, — a man who did not conceal his hatred for the new institutions (78).<sup>1</sup> "Young man," Sylla said to Pompey, seeing him crossing the Forum after the election, followed by a great crowd of friends, "I see you rejoice in your victory. 'Tis verily a worthy act to gain the consulship for a bad citizen. But take care: you are raising up an adversary stronger than yourself." These words nearly came true. On hearing of Sylla's death, Lepidus made an attempt to prevent public honors being paid to his memory, and at once began to talk of abolishing his laws. But this was going too fast for Pompey. Notwithstanding Sylla's recent coldness towards him,<sup>2</sup> Pompey respected himself too much to betray so soon the cause he had so greatly served. He joined with Catulus, the other consul; and the dead Sylla was honored with a final triumph. But on quitting the scene of the funeral the two consuls very nearly came to blows.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Fragments* of Sallust a violent address which this historian puts into the mouth of Lepidus, ending with nothing less than a call to arms. If it is not literally authentic, we may at least regard it as expressing his sentiments.

<sup>2</sup> He did not name him at all in his will.

<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.* i. 107.

## III. — LEPIDUS; NEW CIVIL WAR (78–77).

THIS Lepidus, father of the triumvir, belonged to an illustrious patrician house, the gens Aemilia. In the Civil war he declared himself for Sylla, and secured a considerable fortune from the plunder of the proscribed. Acquiring a relish for this abominable food, he committed, during his praetorship in Sicily (in 81), such exactions, that Cicero gives him, after Verres, the first rank among the plunderers of the provinces.<sup>1</sup> He was thus in a position to construct the finest palace in the city, and decorate it with columns of yellow Numidian marble,—the first that had ever been seen in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Rich, and of noble birth, the affinities of Lepidus were entirely with the aristocratic party. But there all the highest positions were already filled; and he passed over to the other side, guided in this resolution by his marriage with one Apulia, the daughter of Saturninus, and by his fear of a prosecution for extortion, with which he was threatened. He was influenced most of all, however, by his ambition; for the honest reformers of the past generation were now succeeded only by demagogues.

Men are killed or proscribed at will, but well-founded ideas and real needs can be disposed of only by giving them satisfaction; and as Sylla's restoration had taken into account none of the new conditions which the past had produced, or which the present demanded, Lepidus had only to mention the re-establishment of the laws for distributions of corn, and the recall of those who had been exiled, when the party which Sylla believed he had smothered in blood re-appeared at once.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *In Verr.*, II. iii. 91.

<sup>2</sup> "His house," says Pliny, "was at that time the finest in Rome; but so rapid was the progress of luxury, that thirty-five years later more than a hundred surpassed it in magnificence" (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Lepidus, during his consulship, made one of those useless sumptuary laws which democratic jealousy required, but which were never executed. He forbade the serving at banquets of foreign birds or shell-fish, and designated what might be eaten, and how it might be prepared. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* II. xxiv. 12; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 17, 13.)

No sooner was it understood that one of the consuls was ready to undo what the dictatorship had established, than a great crowd of men began to look forward with eagerness to new tumults. The families of the victims of the proscriptions hoped to recover thereby their lost wealth and civic rights; the young men of fashion, to obtain means for their ruinous profligacy. The tribunes hoped for power; the people, for excitements which would interrupt the monotony of these dull times, when for the last three years not a storm had burst in the Forum. The knights could not pardon the nobles for the suppression of their judicial power; the poor were offended by the loss of the corn distributions; and ambitious men who were refused access to power by the oligarchy promised themselves to derive advantage from all these regrets, which were also hopes. A great province, Spain, was in the hands of Sertorius. Cisalpine Gaul had for governor a Junius Brutus of doubtful fidelity. On every side, that crowd of men who had lost position, who had so many times before caused revolutions, were calling for one now; and certain of the more conspicuous members of the Marian party ventured to return to Rome. Perperna, the praetor whom Pompey had expelled from Sicily, Caesar, the son of Cinna the consul, and others, had already arrived, and, as always happens with the proscribed, they had forgotten nothing.

Lepidus proceeded with extreme rapidity. He restored the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn to the people,<sup>1</sup> thereby gaining all the Roman beggars; and, to attach to himself the Italians, he promised to restore their lands to all who had been despoiled. Thus, on every side, the dispossessed saw their prospects brighten, and some went so far as to collect weapons. The men of Faesulae, the first to be ready, rushed upon the veterans in the castella which they had established, and after killing many drove the rest out of their territory. This might well have been the signal for a general conflagration. The Senate, whom Sylla imagined he had made so strong, were terrified, but derived no energy from their terror. Between Catulus and Lepidus,

<sup>1</sup> Granius Licinianus, *Fr. ex lib. xxxvi.*; *Ad ann. 78: nullo resistente, ut annonae quinque modii populo darentur.* This law was doubtless abolished when its author was declared a public enemy; for the re-establishment of five modii dates from the year 73. (Cf. Sallust, *Fragm.* and Cicero, in *Verr.*, II. iii. 70.)



who were already threatening each other, they knew no way to interpose, save by endeavors to obtain from each an oath that he would not take arms against the other; and the Conscript Fathers believed that they had warded off the impending danger when they had decreed that the two consuls should go at once to their respective provinces, — Catulus to Gaul, and Lepidus to Narbonensis.



CASTELLUM (FORTIFIED POST).<sup>1</sup>

There was said to be danger of attacks in the latter province, and the Senate were guilty of the imprudence of granting a large sum of money to decide the rapacious proconsul to set off for his government. As he must, on his way, reduce the outbreak in Faesulae, he was authorized to raise troops: he had, therefore, all that he needed for levying an army.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Virgil* of the Vatican. Castellum, with its garrison bivouacking outside, while sentinels (*vigiles*) keep watch by night within the walls. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, pp. 119 and 707.) [This is the mediæval notion of a castellum, and bears no trace of an early date. — *Ed.*]

While Lepidus slowly moved on his way, Catulus went forward with the reconstruction, begun by Sylla, of the Capitoline temple, which towered majestically above the Forum,<sup>1</sup>—an immense work,



MINERVA OF TIVOLI.<sup>2</sup>

of which there now remain only the massive foundations underlying the "Senator's Palace" in Rome, and upon which, in the time of Catulus, stood the Tabularium, or Record Office. Under

<sup>1</sup> The inscription engraved on it by order of the Senate yet remains: *Q. Lutatius Q. F. Q. N. Catulus Cos. substructionem et tabularium ex sen. cons. faciundum curavit.*

<sup>2</sup> Statue of Greek marble, discovered at Tivoli, at Hadrian's villa (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii. pl. 12, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 461, No. 857).



the façade he placed a Minerva of Euphranor, which the people were accustomed to call the Catulan; but he reserved for the Temple of Fortune, consecrated by his father after the Cimbrian war,



FORTUNE.<sup>1</sup>

two statues by Phidias, stolen, like the former, from Greece.<sup>2</sup> The Romans, incapable of creating masterpieces like these, knew at least how to love them, and especially how to steal them. The temple was filled with offerings of all kinds sent by cities,

<sup>1</sup> Clarae, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 455, No. 834. Statue in the Royal Museum at Berlin, called by Clarae the *naval* Fortune, on account of the rudder she holds in her right hand, which is due, however, to modern restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 18, and xxxiv. 19.



kings, and nations. From this collection one object was missing, which should have been there,—an exquisite work of art, made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, which the King of



STATUE OF JUPITER.<sup>1</sup>

Syria had destined for the Capitol, and which his envoy, passing through Syracuse, had had the imprudence to show to Verres, who thereupon stole it; and this royal gift, destined for Jupiter, king

<sup>1</sup> Fine statue from Lord Leicester's collection at Holkham, given by Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.* pl. 396 D, No. 678 B). The calm expression of the face, the regularly waved hair, as well as the patera and the sceptre, have given this figure the name of "the propitious Jupiter."

of the gods, went instead to decorate the boudoir of the "Swallow," (*Chelidon*), one of this Sicilian satrap's mistresses.

The festival of the dedication of this temple lasted for several days, and was marked by a novelty that Cato would have anathematized — Catulus, to shelter the spectators from the sun, caused his theatre to be covered with coarse awnings, later to be replaced by the immense and splendid velaria of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

While his colleague was occupied with these pious cares, and this solicitude for the comfort of the people, Lepidus was passing through Etruria, collecting men, provisions, and arms from the populations who had been so cruelly treated by Sylla, and calling out the veterans of Marius and Carbo. Junius Brutus, the governor, declared for him. Caesar, who was on his way home from Asia, was urged by L. Cinna, his brother-in-law, to do the same; but the character of the leader and the strength of the party did not appear to him secure enough, and he waited.<sup>2</sup> However, by the promise of annulling the acts of the dictatorship, Lepidus had soon augmented his army, and when the Senate, at last disquieted, recalled him, under pretext of his presence being needed for the consular comitia, he marched upon Rome, preceded by the declaration that he came for the purpose of re-establishing the people in their rights, and assuming a second consulship, in fact, the dictatorship.

The Conscript Fathers made an attempt to negotiate; but they were received in such a manner that it became evident hostilities could not be avoided. The situation at Rome appeared dangerous. Cethegus and other ruined young nobles traversed the disorderly quarters of the city, talking of an approaching revenge. The tribunes of that year, chosen under the influence of the late dictator's laws, were feeble and timid. But, if the clash of arms were to silence the voice of the law, was it not possible that one of these officers, at the approach of Lepidus, might find enough of the old courage to stir up the crowd, and put the Cornelian Senate

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. ii. 46 ; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In 77 and 76, however, he began the war against the partisans of Sylla by accusing two of them, — Cn. Dolabella, the former governor of Macedonia, and Antonius, who had cruelly oppressed Greece. In taking up the part of accuser, Caesar merely followed the example of the young nobles, who were accustomed to make their first appearance in this manner; but the choice of his victims marks the direction of his feelings.

between two dangers? A senator, whom we have long known roused men's minds by an energetic address, which Sallust has preserved for us, rewriting it somewhat less, perhaps, than usually is the case with speeches reported by him. Philippus reproached the senators sharply for their irresolution: "While you are shuffling and evading, and recasting your speeches, and adorning them with quotations from the poets, you hope for peace, rather than defend it; nor do you understand that your supineness takes from you your dignity, from him his fear.

"Do the demands of Lepidus trouble you? He who says it is his pleasure that to every man should be restored his own, and keeps his grasp on the property of others; that laws imposed by violence should be set aside, yet himself wields the sword; that the right of citizenship be confirmed, who denies that it was ever lost; that for the sake of peace the tribunitian power should be again intrusted to the popular suffrage, that very thing from which all our disorders have sprung!

". . . If this is what you want, if so great amazement has fallen upon your minds, that, forgetting the crimes of Cinna (at whose entrance into the city decorum and all distinction of rank disappeared), you nevertheless propose to intrust yourselves, your wives and children, to Lepidus, what need of decrees? What need of help from Catulus? Since you will, put yourselves under the protection of Cethegus and the other traitors who thirst to begin the work of fire and pillage. . . . As for me, I think that the interrex Appius Claudius, the proconsul Catulus, and all others who have the imperium, and are charged with the defence of the city, should *see to it that the Republic be not endangered*."

This decree was passed, and Catulus made or renewed, and extended, the law *de vi publica*, which forbade fire and water to the authors of public disturbances;<sup>1</sup> and at the same time he increased the levies, which were easily obtained through the joint action of Pompey. Too young to aspire to the consulship, too full of his own renown to consent to reach that position by passing through the inferior offices, Pompey seized this new occasion to defy the laws while serving them. A decree of the Senate

<sup>1</sup> It is this law of which Cicero made use against Catiline (*Pro Caelio*, 29).



associated him with Catulus in the command of the army, and he was its real head. The proconsular troops, joined by many of the veterans who were threatened with being obliged to restore the lands that had been granted them, established themselves upon the Janiculum, upon the hills of the Vatican, and at the Milvian Bridge,<sup>1</sup> to defend the passage of the Tiber.

The second-rate personage who was now posing as the successor of Marius had not been able to conceal his projects long enough to give time for organizing his forces, and did not put them in execution with rapidity enough to take his adversaries by surprise. Encamping between the Tiber and the Cremera, he despatched emissaries into Rome for the purpose of raising a disturbance; but no one responded. The populace crowded the walls and the river-bank to behold a spectacle of far deeper interest than gladiatorial combats, — two armies engaged opposite the Campus Martius. The battle was very short. Sylla's veterans, re-enforced by all the nobles, charged so hotly that the raw troops of Lepidus gave way, and fled with their chief in the direction of Bolsena. Lepidus had the design of making for the Samnite mountains; but the manœuvres of his adversaries shut him up in Etruria. Here he suffered a second repulse, which caused him to retreat towards the sea; and while Catulus, with prudent moderation, continued driving him in that direction, Pompey had time to hasten into Cisalpine Gaul, where M. Junius Brutus had shut himself up in Modena. In want of provisions, or perhaps forced by some treason, Brutus surrendered, stipulating for his life; but on the following day Pompey had him put to death. A son of Lepidus, and a Scipio, — perhaps the consul of the year 83, — who during Sylla's proscriptions had fled to Massilia, were taken in the Ligurian city of Alba, and also put to death. Cisalpine Gaul being thus pacified, after the Roman fashion, by murders, Pompey rejoined Catulus, who had just inflicted a second defeat upon Lepidus under the walls of Cosa.

Opposite this city rises from the sea Mons Argentarius, a promontory sharply defined on all sides, and attached to the continent merely by two sand-banks enclosing a lagoon.<sup>2</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 260, the plan of Rome, and p. 306, that of the Veian territory.

<sup>2</sup> This rock, seven miles long and four in breadth, owed its name to silver-mines existing there in early times.



RONJAT, PINXIT

ZEUS CROWNED BY VICTORY

From a Pompeian Picture





sand-banks Lepidus cut, and made of the promontory an island. He could not, however, long hold the position, for lack of provisions; and he embarked by night for Sardinia, in the hope of



raising an insurrection among the people there, while his lieutenant Perperna was to secure Sicily; thence they could give assistance to Sertorius, and make an attempt to reduce Rome by famine, cutting off her supplies from the two islands, her principal granaries. Fatigued and disappointed, Lepidus fell ill, and a letter written by his wife completed his misfortunes. This letter came by accident into his hands, and was of a character to leave him in no doubt as to the fidelity of Apuleia and the esteem she entertained for her husband. "The unfortunate man," she wrote to her lover, "has no

common sense." A few days later he died. Thus ended the first act of the new Civil war (77).

This time the victorious party did itself honor by its moderation, and a few years later the Senate, upon the suggestion of Caesar, granted an amnesty to the partisans of Lepidus.

The insurrection had the effect of uniting Pompey with the Senate, and gave him back his army. Catulus directed him to disband it, it is true; but he paid no attention to this order, and the Senate did not dare to urge the point. In the aristocratic party, therefore, Pompey saw no one above him: in the opposite party it might even be doubted whether the chiefs, if they were victorious, would admit him to a share. Certainly he would have felt the force of a democratic re-action, and he determined, that, if it should ever take place, it should at all events be by his agency. He was, moreover, a good enough citizen to wish that the re-action should come slowly, without any violent shock, and without further proscriptions. Under these circumstances, therefore, he accepted the position of Sylla's executor, and, having destroyed Lepidus, now went to encounter Sertorius.

#### IV. — SERTORIUS; CONTINUATION OF THE CIVIL WAR (80-73).

WE know the character of Sertorius, this Sabine, who, like Marius, had neither ancestors nor posterity, and, like him, was a better general than statesman. He had distinguished himself in the Cimbrian war, and his long campaigns in Gaul had so well familiarized him with the language and habits of the barbarians, that he was able more than once to penetrate the camp of the Teutones in disguise, and obtain information as to their numbers and plans. During the Social war he acted as the Senate's agent with the Italian Gauls, and was able to retain them faithful to Rome. Later he sought the tribuneship. The partisans of Sylla prevented his obtaining it, and this rebuff threw him forever into the party of his former general. Reserved in manners, of African sobriety, of small appetite, brave even to rashness, — which caused



him many wounds and the loss of an eye,—fruitful in military contrivances, and of an activity that no fatigue could weary, Sertorius had all the qualities necessary to the chief of a guerilla band, and his antecedents made him the last hope of the Marian party.<sup>1</sup>

After the insurrection of the slaves against their masters, of the plebeians against the nobles, and of the Italians against Rome, we have seen that all the nations in the eastern part of the Empire aided Mithridates with their good wishes or with their military strength, in his attempt to overthrow a hated authority. Fortunately for Rome, it happened, that, although there was a common consent in hatred, it was impossible to have unanimity in counsel or in action. She would have fallen beneath the weight of a world united against her; but she triumphed over adversaries who came successively to strike ill-concerted blows at her colossal power.

After the defection of Scipio's army, Sertorius had gone into Spain (82) with the title of praetor conferred upon him by the Marian party, in virtue of which he had legal authority in those provinces. He studied the country, its resources, the spirit of that valiant race whose maidens chose their husbands among the bravest, the preferred suitor being the one who could offer to his bride the right hand of an enemy he had himself slain; and the Roman general won them by his gentle conduct, which was in strong contrast with the rapacity and insolence usual in governors of provinces. He had already served in the peninsula as military tribune, and had gained the respect of the Spaniards by the adroitness of a stratagem which he employed in defeating them.

A Roman garrison at Castula (Cazlona) had by their insolence exasperated the inhabitants, who called the men of a neighboring city to their aid, opening to them by night one of the city gates. A considerable number of Romans perished; but Sertorius had been able to make his escape. Followed by all the Roman soldiers whom he could rally, he at once made the circuit of the city, re-entered by the gate which the Spaniards had not closed; and the latter, surprised in their turn, were put to the sword. In the

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 17; Suetonius, *Caes.* 5.



morning, with his soldiers, whom he had caused to put on the dress and arm themselves with the weapons of the barbarians whom they had slain, he marched to the other city. Its inhabitants



COIN OF ANNIUS AND TAR-  
QUITIUS, HIS QUÆSTOR.<sup>1</sup>

came out to meet the approaching force, believing them to be their friends. Sertorius attacked them, and the whole population were either slain, or sold into slavery. The fame of this affair spread throughout Spain, and from that time the name of Sertorius was held in high honor. When it was

known that he had come into the province invested with the supreme command, and when the Spaniards saw him diminish the subsidies, and excuse the cities from lodging his troops, by living with them in tents, volunteers came to him in crowds. Ready to deceive themselves at any time, they now believed that this Roman, proscribed at Rome, would henceforth fight for them.

Sylla, meantime, had not forgotten him, and a considerable army arrived in Gaul under the command of Annius. Livius Salinator, one of the lieutenants of Sertorius, sent to guard the passes of the Pyrenees, had at first repulsed all attacks, but was soon after assassinated by a traitor; upon which his troops dispersed, and Annius effected an entrance into the provinces (81). Sertorius was too weak to make a stand against him, and fell back as far as Carthagena.

Sylla was victorious on all sides. Every land obeyed him, and expelled those whom he had proscribed: the sea alone was free. Sertorius, with three thousand men, embarked upon the Mediterranean, and for many months roved the Spanish and African coasts. Once he made a descent on the Pityusae,<sup>2</sup> and another time pillaged the country at the mouths of the Baetis. Disgusted, however, with this precarious existence, which assimilated him to his allies the pirates, he at one time is said to have entertained the idea of renouncing a struggle so unpromising, and seeking, afar from the enslaved world, a tranquil abode in the Fortunate Islands (the

<sup>1</sup> C. ANNIUS T. F. T. N. PROCOS. EX S. C. Bust of Juno Moneta. On the reverse C. TARQVITIA. Victory in a biga. Silver coin of the Annian and Tarquitian families.

<sup>2</sup> Now Iviza and Formentara, on the Spanish coast, seven hundred stadia from the promontory of Diana (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5).

Canaries).<sup>1</sup> But his soldiers had little taste for the sweets of the golden age: they persuaded him to abandon a design which he had probably suggested in the hope of stimulating them to renewed efforts.

The Marusians, a Moorish people, were at that time in arms against their king, Ascalis, who had been aided by one of Sylla's lieutenants. Sertorius defeated this prince and his auxiliaries, and took by storm the city of Tingis on the African coast, commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean, and looking across to Spain, whither Sertorius hoped to return. The rumor of his successes had spread



PUNIC COIN  
OF TINGIS.<sup>2</sup>



STRUGGLE OF HERCULES WITH ANTAEUS.<sup>3</sup>

through the province, and many marvellous incidents were added thereto. He had, it was said, discovered the body of Antaeus the giant, and, alone of living men, had seen those bones, sixty cubits in length. The Lusitanians, oppressed by Annius, invited him to put himself at their head. He accepted, and, passing through the Roman fleet, he landed in the peninsula with an army of nineteen hundred Romans and seven hundred Africans: the Lusitanians furnished him with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse. It was with less than eight thousand men that he ventured to declare war upon the master of the Roman world. But his sol-

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sertor.* 8; Florus, iii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Two ears of corn and four Punic letters representing the word *Tinga*. Bronze coin of Tingis (Tangier).

<sup>3</sup> From a painted vase in the Campana Collection of the Louvre.

diers had the most absolute confidence in this leader, whom they regarded as a second Hannibal, — a man who could find supplies where none were visible, could keep his army well provisioned in the poorest regions, and retain the fidelity of his allies while making the heaviest demands upon them; who distracted the enemy by the rapidity of his movements, and re-appeared as formidable the day after a defeat as he had been on the eve of a victory.<sup>1</sup>

Sertorius began by defeating the *propraetor* of Baetica, while one of his lieutenants conquered and killed the governor of the Citerior province (80). Metellus, charged by the dictator to arrest these dangerous successes, could not bring his adversary to a battle (79). Sertorius, who knew the mountain-passes as well as the most experienced native hunter, had adopted the local methods of fighting, and his soldiers were as prompt to retreat as they had been to attack. With his large and heavy army, Metellus could not reach these agile mountaineers, who made their campaign without tents or wagons, who ate as they could, and slept under the stars, who were found everywhere, and could be captured nowhere. Vainly did Metellus lead his heavy infantry from one end to the other of his province, for the Spaniards never dared attack him in his intrenchments, which were always constructed with ditches and palisades, after the old Roman fashion: in reality he held nothing outside of his fortified camp, and had much difficulty in victualling his troops. The unexpected attacks of the enemy, his rapid movements, his bravado, disconcerted the methodical general. Sertorius gave his troops the example of



COIN OF L. MANLIUS.<sup>2</sup>

audacity. Splendidly armed, he was always in the front, and made the boldest ventures personally. One day, he challenged Metellus to single combat. Thus it was that in him the Spaniards saw again alive the great adversary of Rome whom Carthage

had sent to their fathers.

Notwithstanding the confidence he had at first displayed, Metellus

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. facing p. 50, the map of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> L. MANLI. PROQ. Head of Pallas. On the reverse L. SVLLA. IM.; Sylla in a quadriga. Gold coin of Lucullan weight, of the Manlian and Cornelian families.



was compelled to call to his aid the proconsul of Narbonensis, and sent forward his quaestor with a division to meet the three legions and fifteen hundred horse who were sent to join him. But Sertorius prevented the junction; the quaestor and his division were captured, and, when Manilius emerged from the Pyrenees, he was so completely defeated that he was almost the only man to escape, and find shelter at Ilerda (Lerida). The road into Gaul was now open to Sertorius; but an attack made



COIN OF ILERDA  
(LERIDA).<sup>1</sup>



VIEW OF LERIDA.<sup>2</sup>

by Metellus on Lacobriga in Lusitania, near the mouth of the Douro, recalled him. The proconsul believed himself this time sure of success; but the place was nevertheless relieved, and his legions were compelled to abandon the province.

<sup>1</sup> ILERT., in Celtiberian, over a wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ilerda. The wolf is an extremely rare symbol in ancient numismatics. (Note by M. Cohen.)

<sup>2</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 69.

Notwithstanding the presence of this great army, Sertorius was really master of all Spain. He settled disputes between nations and individuals; levied troops, which he quartered in barracks, not to be burdensome to the inhabitants; he fortified the cities and the passes of the mountains; he drilled the native levies in Roman tactics, and above all devoted himself to gaining their confidence. He had been able to persuade them that he was in direct communication with the gods; a white hind that always followed him being the divine messenger. If he secretly received important news, it was the hind who had whispered it in his ear, and, when he repeated aloud what the event soon confirmed, the artifice was successful with the childish credulity of the Spanish people. Moreover, he commanded their respect by his care in preventing any license on the



THE HIND OF SERTORIUS.<sup>1</sup>

part of his troops. One day, he caused an entire cohort to be put to death as a penalty for their excesses. Hence the devotion of the people was absolute, and, like the Aquitanian chiefs, he was surrounded by a faithful band ready to die for him.

It was not, however, an army easy to keep in order; but he employed every means to this end. Once his Spaniards, eager to fight, engaged the enemy without his orders, and were repulsed. A few days later he called the army together, and caused two horses to be brought into the field,—one led by a feeble old man, the other by a very robust soldier,—and directed each man to pull out his horse's tail. The soldier seized the tail of his horse with both hands, and exhausted himself in vain efforts: the other pulled out the hairs one by one, and presently had accomplished his task. "You see, fellow-soldiers," said Sertorius, "that perseverance is worth more than energy, and that many things which cannot be overcome when they are together,

<sup>1</sup> From an engraved stone in the Maffei Collection (De Brosses, *Hist. de la rép. rom.* vol. i. pl. iii. No. x.).



yield themselves up when taken little by little." This eloquence in action, of which Hannibal had already made use,<sup>1</sup> impressed the minds of the barbarians much more than any long oration, and the Spaniards felt that their leader was as wise as he was brave.

The defeat of Lepidus in Etruria gave Sertorius an important re-enforcement (77). Perperna went over into Spain with the considerable remnant of that army: it was his wish to act independently; but his soldiers obliged him to place himself under the orders of the most famous of the Marian chiefs. With him came several senators and Romans of distinction. Sertorius formed of them a Senate of three hundred members, and, to show plainly that he remained a Roman still in the midst of barbarians, he admitted no Spaniard to this body, even refusing them also the higher grades in the army.<sup>2</sup> This was an error on his part, for the Spaniards had hitherto believed that the exiled Roman would fight for them; and they now began to see, that whether it were the party of Marius or of Sylla, the popular or the aristocratic faction, all alike had but one desire, — to maintain for their own advantage the rule of Rome over the prov-



COIN OF OSCA.<sup>3</sup>

inces. Sertorius had gathered at Osca (Huesca) the sons of the most important Spanish families, to have them instructed in the learning of Greece and Rome; and he took pleasure in observing their work, and distributing to the most studious the golden amulets that were given as rewards to noble youth in the Roman schools. The Spaniards had regarded these proofs of interest as an honor, and a pledge that their children should one day fill offices in the Republic. It now occurred to them that perhaps their sons were detained at Osca as hostages for the parents' fidelity; and their zeal would have cooled, had not Metellus opened his career by threats and by the imposition of new taxes. Corneille represents Sertorius as saying, —

"Rome n'est plus dans Rome; elle est toute où je suis."

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 666.

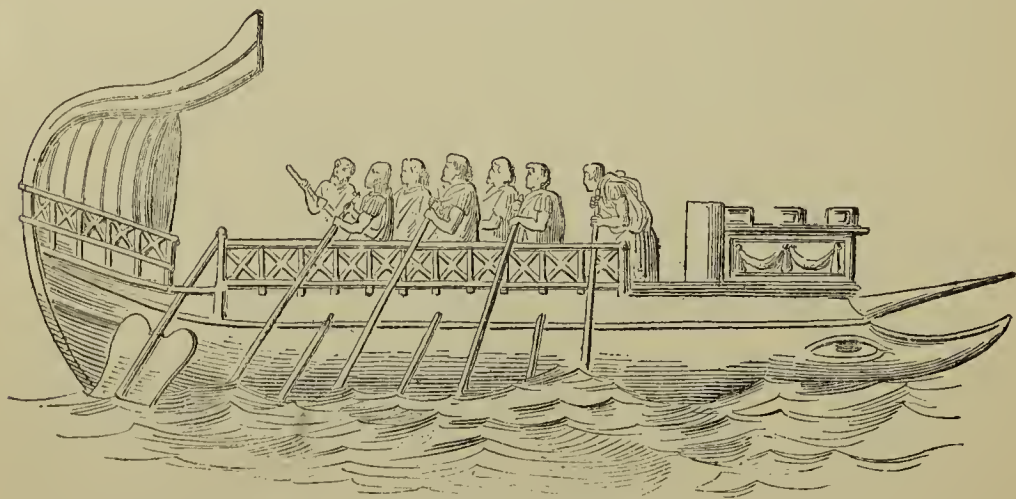
<sup>2</sup> The same has been French policy in Algiers towards the natives serving under the French flag.

<sup>3</sup> OSCA. Man's head. On the reverse DOM. COS. ITER. IMP. Instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin of Osca, stamped with the name of Domitius Calpurnius, Cæsar's lieutenant in Spain.



The idea is noble, and it may have been the thought of the exiled man; but it was unwise to show it too plainly.

Immediately upon his recent successes, Sertorius had incited the Aquitanians to revolt, and they had defeated a proconsul, and killed a praetor. It was easy for him also to persuade Narbonensis, which had lately furnished recruits to Lepidus,<sup>1</sup> and whose tribes were not yet all of them trained to obedience. One of his lieutenants even went so far as to guard the passes of the Alps, and he himself received from Rome urgent solicitations to make



SWIFT VESSEL (CELES).<sup>2</sup>

a descent into Italy; for more than one man, even among the nobles, would have been glad to see the downfall of an order of things, which, while serving the oligarchy, placed too serious hindrances in the way of the personal avidity of the oligarchs.

The Senate kept a fleet in the Spanish waters; but it was constantly occupied with the pirates, of whom we shall soon have to speak, and who, in this apparent dissolution of the Roman Colossus, had taken the sea for their share. As natural allies of the enemies of Rome, they rendered Sertorius all the services desired of them. He had opened to them at the most easterly

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iii. 20, and *Fragm.* of Sallust. There were frequent agitations in this province: about the year 90 an insurrection of the *Salluvii* (Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.); in 83 there was a defeat of the Gauls by Val. Flaccus. The date of the defeat and death of the praetor Val. Praeconinus is uncertain. M. Desjardins (*op. cit.*) places it, with good reason, at about this time.

<sup>2</sup> From the Column of Trajan. These open vessels were employed by the pirates as swift sailers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 57; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* x. 25; Scheffer, *Mil. nav.* p. 68.)

point of Spain the triple promontory of Diana, — a fortress which served as a trading-post for prisoners and prizes, a watch-tower<sup>1</sup> whence to keep a lookout over the sea and run out suddenly upon transports, and a shelter where their light craft lay concealed from the heavy war-ships. The situation, therefore, was becoming grave. A civil war threatened the gates of Rome, and the work of Sylla seemed about to fall into ruin. Notwithstanding their reluctance to call upon Pompey for further services, the Senate sent him to the help of Metellus, with proconsular authority and the office of governor of Hither Spain, thus violating the constitution of Sylla in the very attempt to save it.

Pompey had not disbanded his army, and he now in forty days had completed his preparations, and took the road to the Alps with thirty thousand foot and a thousand horse (76). To avoid the passes guarded by the bands of Sertorius, and to signalize the opening of his expedition by a bold march, he made for himself a new road, which was probably across the Cottian Alps. The Spanish cohorts, thus baffled, fell back upon the Pyrenees, abandoning the Narbonensis, which expiated its revolt with fire and sword. Sylla's former lieutenant seemed animated by the inexorable spirit of the dictator. "His road was marked by massacres all the way to Narbo," says Cicero. Then followed confiscations; whole populations were driven out; the Helvii and the Arecomiei lost part of their territory, which went to recompense the fidelity of Massilia; the Ruteni (Rouergue) were united to the Province; and finally, when Pompey passed over into Spain, he left as governor in Gaul the hardest and most rapacious of men, — the proconsul Fonteius.<sup>3</sup>



COIN OF VALENCIA.<sup>2</sup>

Sertorius did not defend the mountain-passes, being at that

<sup>1</sup> This was an old establishment of the Massiliots, who had constructed these towers, of which the tallest was well named τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, a word signifying the post of the day-sentinel (Strabo, iii. 159).

<sup>2</sup> VALENTIA. Cornucopia and thunderbolt crosswise. Reverse of a bronze coin of Valencia.

<sup>3</sup> A fragment of Sallust, No. 569, mentions, in connection with Pompey's stay in Narbonensis, the meeting of the provincial assembly. Everywhere we find this institution, whose importance we have already noted (vol. ii. p. 250).



time occupied with the siege of Lauron (Liria?),<sup>1</sup> not far from Valencia; and Pompey, boasting that he could easily drive him from his position, marched at once upon the city. "I will teach this schoolboy," Sertorius said, "that a general should look behind



THE NYMPHAEUM OF LIRIA.<sup>2</sup>

him as well as before." He first took from Pompey a legion, and starved him in his camp; then defeated all his detachments,

<sup>1</sup> Near Liria has been found a Nymphaeum, and an inscription purporting that a Sertorius and his wife Sertoriana Festa contributed to the construction of this Nymphaeum, *in honorem Edetanorum et patronorum suorum* (C. I. L., vol. ii. No. 3786). This Sertorius Euporistus Sertorianus was the freedman of some Spaniard, one of whose ancestors had taken the name of the great general who had given him Roman citizenship. In No. 3744 reference is made to the freedman of another Sertorius. The concession of the *jus civitatis* was a prerogative of the sovereign, that is to say, of the Roman people; but their generals had taken the right of according this recompense in the provinces, as generals of modern nations in remote expeditions can by delegated authority confer certain promotions and decorations. This Marius and Pompey had done, and their acts were ratified by a law (Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 8). After the pacification of Spain, certain concessions made by Sertorius must have been confirmed, or usage caused them to be accepted.

<sup>2</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 118; Cic., *Pro Fonteio*, 2.



captured Lauron under his eyes, and forced him to retire as far as the Montserrat to establish his quarters in the country of the Laletani and Indigetes, in the north-eastern angle of the peninsula. Such were the disasters of the campaign Pompey had so vain-gloriously begun (76).

Sertorius passed the winter in reconstructing his army, "exercising his soldiers incessantly, according to the ancient method,"<sup>1</sup> and fortifying his position upon the Ebro, to prevent the junction of the Senate's two armies, — that of the north under Pompey, and of the south under Metellus. After having subjugated a few Celtiberian towns, one of which, Contrebia,<sup>2</sup> detained him forty-four days, he summoned to his camp the deputies of the cities which supported his cause, explained to them his plans, and obtained from them the means of renewing his munitions of war and of clothing his soldiers. At the return of spring he sent Perperna into the country of the Ilercaones, near the mouths of the Ebro, to deprive Pompey of any provisions by sea. He himself went up the valley to make it impossible for his adversary to obtain food from the upper country; and he



COIN OF ILERCA-VONIA.<sup>3</sup>



COIN OF ITALICA.<sup>5</sup>

stationed two other lieutenants, Herennius and Hirtuleius, on the seacoast, for the purpose of keeping Metellus in check; the latter being encamped in Baetica. Unfortunately, Hirtuleius was defeated by Metellus near Italica,<sup>4</sup> and Perperna by Pompey, which rendered a junction of the two generals possible. They marched towards each other along the eastern coast, in order to keep within reach of the fleet. To interpose his army, Sertorius threw himself into the difficult country

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Fragm.* 250.

<sup>2</sup> The story of a part of this siege is found in a fragment of book xci. of Livy, recovered in the last century in a palimpsest of the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> M. H. I. ILERCAVONIA DERT(osa). Sailing-vessel. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Ilerca-vonia.

<sup>4</sup> The men of that time, even the best of them, held the lives of others in very slight esteem. Sertorius killed the messenger on the spot who brought him news of the defeat at Italica, that the bad news might not be spread through the camp. (Frontin., *Strategem.*, ii. 7, 5.)

<sup>5</sup> ITALIC(a) PERM(isso) AVG(usti). Legionary eagle between two military ensigns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Italica.

whence the Xucar (Sucrò) and the Guadalaviar (Turia)<sup>1</sup> descend into the fertile plains of Valencia and Elcha.<sup>2</sup> Pompey, who was attacked first, was defeated on the banks of the Sucro. Sertorius was expecting on the following day to destroy him, when Metellus appeared. "If this old woman



had not come up," Sertorius said, "I would have whipped the boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome;" and, appointing a place for his troops to meet him again, he dispersed them. The battle of the Turia, therefore, was both a victory and a defeat, and Sertorius would have needed a great success before he could escape from the peril into which he was thrown by the junction of these powerful armies: in reality he was defeated, since he had failed in the attempt to separate his two adversaries.

The generals met near Saguntum. At the approach of his superior both in age and dignity, Pompey ordered his fasces to be lowered; but the older general, knowing his young colleague's vanity, would not suffer this. The only prerogative that he reserved was to give the watchword when the two armies camped together. They were about to separate, owing to the difficulty of obtaining provisions, when suddenly Sertorius attacked them. His white hind had disappeared since the last battle; but some soldiers, finding her, brought her back to him. He bought their silence, and, making known to the army that the return of this divine messenger was a presage of good fortune, he advanced, covering his march in the intention of capturing some foraging detachments sent out by the enemy. He fell, however, upon one of Pompey's divisions near enough to the main camp for Pompey to be able to despatch his entire army to their aid; which resulted, however, in the loss of six thousand men. But, always unlucky in his lieutenants,

<sup>1</sup> The Turia or Guadalaviar, which falls into the sea near Valencia, traverses, a few leagues above that city, a chasm whose precipitous walls are six hundred feet high and thirty broad.

<sup>2</sup> The "grove of palm-trees at Eleha" (next page) is from Laborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 141.

<sup>3</sup> SAGV. INV(icta). Head of Pallas. On the reverse a Victory crowning the prow of a vessel, pineers, and a Celtiberian inscription. Bronze coin of Saguntum.





GROVE OF PALM-TREES AT ELCHA.





Sertorius learned, that at the same moment, Perperna, being attacked by Metellus, had left five thousand dead upon the field. An attack attempted on the following day upon the lines of Metellus, near Saguntum, proved unsuccessful. Sertorius again sent away most of his troops for a time, thus avoiding the necessity of paying



THE WATERFALL OF CHULILLA, ON THE TURIA.<sup>1</sup>

and supporting them in the interval; and with the remainder he returned into the mountains, whence he directed his efforts against the right flank of the combined army, while his allies the pirates were to cut off the supplies expected by sea. Winter approaching, Metellus now took up his quarters in Baetica.

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i pl. 113.



Pompey, with more confidence, marched against Sertorius; but his legions, exhausted by cold, hunger, and incessant fighting, only reached, in much disorder, the country of the Vaccaei (75).

The Roman world was at that time unusually disturbed. War raged everywhere, by land and sea, in Asia, in Thrace,<sup>1</sup> in Spain, all along the coasts, where the landing of pirates to murder and



RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT OF CHELVES, NEAR SAGUNTUM.<sup>2</sup>

pillage was constantly an object of apprehension. Even nature seemed full of threats. A pestilence, beginning in Egypt, attacked the domestic animals; and this destruction of oxen and horses brought ruin to agriculture, so that for three years famine deci-

<sup>1</sup> During the whole duration of the war with Sertorius, the Senate was obliged to maintain in the eastern peninsula as many as five legions against the Dalmatians, the Thracians, and the mountaineers of the Haemus (Balkans). This murderous strife, without profit and without glory, was temporarily ended by a brother of Lucullus, who advanced as far as the Danube and the Euxine (72-71). Macedon gained in this way a little tranquillity, and the Via Egnatia, which Cicero calls "our military road," somewhat more security for convoys passing from Europe into Asia.

<sup>2</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 124.





PASS OF DESPENAPERROS.





mated the population. The Senate exhausted the resources of the treasury in contending with this destitution, and found it impossible to feed their armies, while in the city the famished populace broke out in riots, in one of which Cotta the consul, an estimable man, narrowly escaped being killed. He had ventured to say to the people, "Why, then, should you be at ease in Rome when the armies suffer for food?" The army of Pompey had received no pay for two years, and was in danger of being starved. Their general wrote a haughty and threatening letter to the Senate, in which he said, "I have exhausted all that I have, both money and credit, and in these three campaigns you have scarcely given us a year's subsistence. Can I, then, supply the public treasury, or can I maintain an army without food or money? . . . Our services are well known to you; and in your gratitude you give us poverty and hunger. I therefore warn you, and I beg you to reflect. Do not compel me to take counsel only of necessity. . . . I warn you that my army, and with it the whole Spanish war, will be transferred into Italy." Notwithstanding the tone of this letter, the consul Lucullus, who feared that Pompey might return to dispute with him the command in the Mithridatic war, made haste to send to him corn, money, and two legions.

Mithridates followed all these movements with an attentive eye. Ever since Sylla's death he had been determined to take up arms again. The successes of Sertorius promised him a useful diversion; and he sent to offer this general forty ships and three thousand talents, asking, in return, the cession of Asia. Sertorius would only agree to abandon Cappadocia and Bithynia. "Our victories," he said to his counsellors, "should aggrandize, and not diminish, the dominion of Rome." — "What will not Sertorius command," Mithridates rejoined, "when he is at Rome, if now, a proscribed man, he makes conditions like these?" He accepted them, however; and Sertorius sent to him one of his officers, Varius, with some troops. The pirates were to serve as a bond connecting the two allies. Fortunately for the Republic, the matter went no further than an interchange of negotiations. The pirates were not susceptible of discipline; and, with three thousand miles between them, Sertorius and Mithridates could not form any scheme of concerted action.



This alliance with an enemy of Rome served as a pretext for Metellus to put a price upon the head of Sertorius. He promised as a reward for the murder a hundred talents and two thousand *jugera*, but could not shake the fidelity of any soldier of the guard of Sertorius. After the battle of Saguntum, proud of having conquered where his young rival had experienced a reverse, Metellus had assumed the title of *imperator*, and had required wreaths of gold from the cities, and, from all the poets of the province, songs in honor of his prowess.

In the south and east of the Spanish peninsula almost all the nations recognized the authority of the generals of the Republic; but nothing was settled until the latter should have overthrown the great soldier, who, with Hannibal and Caesar, sums up all the military science of that century. The two proconsuls decided to penetrate into the valley of the Upper Ebro, a difficult country, having a population rugged as their own mountains, and attached to the man, whom, in spite of all things, they believed to be the defender of Spanish independence. Metellus and Pompey advanced, driving Sertorius before them, and on one occasion believed that they had surrounded him on the banks of the Bilbilis, at that time swollen by rains. But Sertorius discovered a passage: he then made a great fence of trees in a semicircle in front of the ford, and set them on fire while his army crossed.<sup>1</sup> The Romans, after some delay caused by this novel obstacle, renewed the pursuit on the opposite bank, and so sharply, that Sertorius narrowly escaped being captured at the gate of Calagurris (Calahorra). The Spaniards took him on their shoulders, and passed him from one to another up to the walls,<sup>2</sup> whilst in the rear his guard held back the enemy by the sacrifice of their own lives.



COIN OF  
CALAGURRIS  
(CALAHORRA).<sup>3</sup>

A few days later, Sertorius escaped from the city, notwithstanding the vigilance of the besiegers, rejoined his troops, and resumed his incessant attacks upon the rear and flanks of the Roman legions, present everywhere, and never within reach. The proconsuls, no longer able to feed

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus, i. 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. (*Sert.* 14) cites the fact, without naming the city where the occurrence took place.

<sup>3</sup> C. VAL. C. SEX. AEDILES. Ox's head, front view. Small bronze of Calagurris.

their armies, were compelled to retire, — Metellus into Further Spain, Pompey into Gaul, where he established his winter-quarters (74).

Here serious perils were to be apprehended. The Gauls of the province, seeing that the Spanish war still continued, had taken up arms again, and attacked Massilia and Narbo, which Fonteius had with difficulty been able to protect. Pompey was obliged to occupy the winter in extinguishing a revolt which cut his communications with Italy, and prevented him from obtaining supplies from Narbonensis.

The military events of the years 73 and 72 are unknown. If we are to believe the stories spread abroad by his enemies, Sertorius lost in luxury and profligacy that activity which hitherto had been his chief strength. Hatred and envy kept watch about him. The senators whom he had called together saw themselves with vexation compelled to obey an adventurer. They tried to make him odious by overwhelming in his name the Spaniards with exactions. All this is extremely improbable. This vicious luxury suddenly appearing in the life of the hardy soldier is not credible, and he was not the man to allow extravagance by which his projects were likely to suffer. But some of the exiles who had gathered around him, feeling that they had sacrificed enough, sought the opportunity to make their peace with Rome, even at the expense of the valiant leader who had saved them. And, furthermore, the war had become wearisome, even to the Spaniards. The charge of feeding and clothing the army of their liberators appeared very heavy; signs of discontent became visible, which Sertorius repressed with severity; and embittered by this unexpected resistance, rendered suspicious, also, because he believed himself surrounded by invisible enemies, he was tempted to commit acts which alienated the public mind even more. Many of the Spanish children left at Osca were sold, or were murdered. A proscribed chief who defends himself by punishments is already half conquered. A conspiracy being formed, of which Perperna was the head, Sertorius was assassinated at a banquet.

Perperna, who took his place, had neither his talents, nor the confidence of the soldiers. He experienced only reverses, and ended by falling into the hands of Pompey. To save his life, he made a proposal to deliver up the letters which had been written to

Sertorius by Roman nobles, asking him to come into Italy. Pompey had already the intention of breaking with the Senate, and had no desire to abandon to their vengeance the very men whom he intended to make his friends: he therefore burned the letters without reading them, and caused the traitor to be put to death. The other conspirators met the same fate, one alone excepted, who, hidden in a barbarous village, lived in wretchedness, hated and despised by those who sheltered him. Plutarch takes delight in these stories of divine vengeance, and he is right. Crime brings its own punishment with it more frequently than we are wont to believe.

However, much blood was yet to be shed before peace could be restored to Spain. The native chiefs, who, though associated with Sertorius, had fought only for their own profit, seized upon the strongholds, and defended themselves for a year with the resolution that Spaniards have always shown when besieged. At Calagurris they went so far as to kill their own women and children, and feed upon the salted flesh.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Sertorius, Metellus returned to Italy, and the later operations of the war were conducted by Pompey, who appears to have finished it alone, and certainly obtained all the honor of it. In the re-organization of the two provinces he laid the foundation of the influence which he had later in that country, where there are still several triumphal arches, to which tradition attaches his name. He granted citizenship to many Spaniards who had served under him. In the country of the Vascones he built a city called by his own name, *Pompelo* (Pampeluna); and in the upper valley of the Garonne he founded for the remnant of the troops of Sertorius the city of *Lugdunum Convenarum* (St. Bertrand de Comminges);<sup>2</sup> he also erected on the crest of the Pyrenees an ostentatious monument, with an inscription to the effect that, between the Alps and the Pillars of Hercules, he had taken eight hundred and seventy-six cities.

<sup>1</sup> *Quoque diutius armata juvenus sua viscera visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias sallire non dubitavit* (Val. Max., VII. vi. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The limits of Narbonensis are marked, therefore, by *Lugdunum Convenarum*, Toulouse, the country of the Ruteni Provinciales, and the Rhone from Geneva to the sea. Cicero says, in the *Pro Fonteio*, that the Italians crowded into this rich country, whence Caesar later derived vast supplies.





ST. BERTRAND DE COMMINGES.





A new war in Italy awaited the vainglorious general: Crassus summoned him against the gladiators, as Metellus had called him against Sertorius.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2133 of the catalogue.



EAGLES SUPPORTING A WREATH.<sup>1</sup>

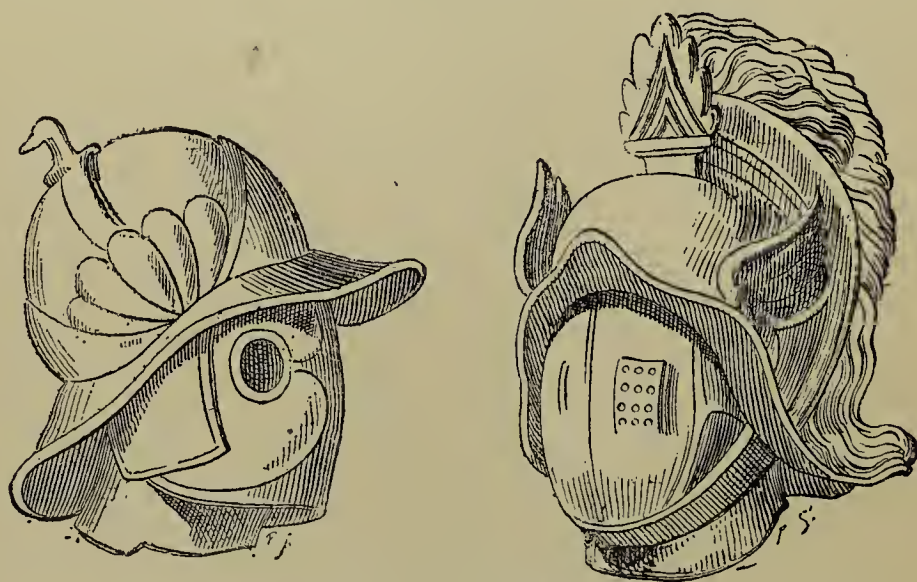


## CHAPTER XLIX.

### SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

#### I. — THE GLADIATORS (73–71).

A CERTAIN Lentulus, called *Batuatus*, or the fencing-master,<sup>1</sup> a freedman of some member of the Cornelian gens, kept gladiators at Capua, and let them out for hire to the Roman nobles, for their games and festivals. Two hundred of these,



GLADIATORS' HELMETS.<sup>2</sup>

mostly Gauls or Thracians, made a conspiracy to escape. Their plan being discovered, seventy-eight, warned in time, fled from their master's vengeance. Entering a cook's shop, they seized the spits and knives, and thus armed made their way to the mountains, as

<sup>1</sup> *Batuo* signifies "to fence," whence are derived the French words *battre*, *bataille*, *bâton*.

<sup>2</sup> From Mazois, paintings in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii.

any Calabrian will now do who has brought himself within the law. Upon the road they met some wagons loaded with gladiatorial weapons: these they captured, and thus armed occupied Mount Vesuvius. This volcano had been dormant since the memory of man, and vegetation covered its slopes. The band easily found a secure place in which to hide themselves, and immediately “elected three chiefs, — two Gauls (Crixus and Oenomaüs), and a Thracian, Spartacus, who with great strength and extraordinary courage united a prudence and gentleness more characteristic of a Greek than of a barbarian. It is related that when he was brought to Rome to be sold, as he lay asleep a serpent was seen coiled upon his face. His Thracian wife was possessed by a prophetic spirit, and practised the arts of magic. She declared that this sign foretold to Spartacus a great and formidable power, and that the end should be prosperous. She was with him at that time, and accompanied him in his flight (73).

A SORCERESS.<sup>1</sup>

“They defeated some soldiers sent against them from Capua, and joyfully took possession of their weapons. The praetor Clodius,

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue, from the Capitoline Museum.



coming from Rome with three thousand men, besieged them in their fort. The only way of descent was by a narrow and difficult foot-path, which Clodius guarded. Elsewhere there were precipices clothed with wild vines. The band of Spartacus cut vine-branches

and made strong ladders, by which they descended the cliffs safely; one who remained above throwing their weapons down to them. The Romans, being suddenly attacked, fled, and left their camp in the power of the gladiators. After this success many herdsmen and active shepherds of the neighborhood joined them; some of these they armed, and others they employed as scouts and skirmishers."

A second general was sent against them,—the praetor Publius Varinius. They defeated one of his lieutenants, who attacked them with two thousand men; and a second officer had a narrow



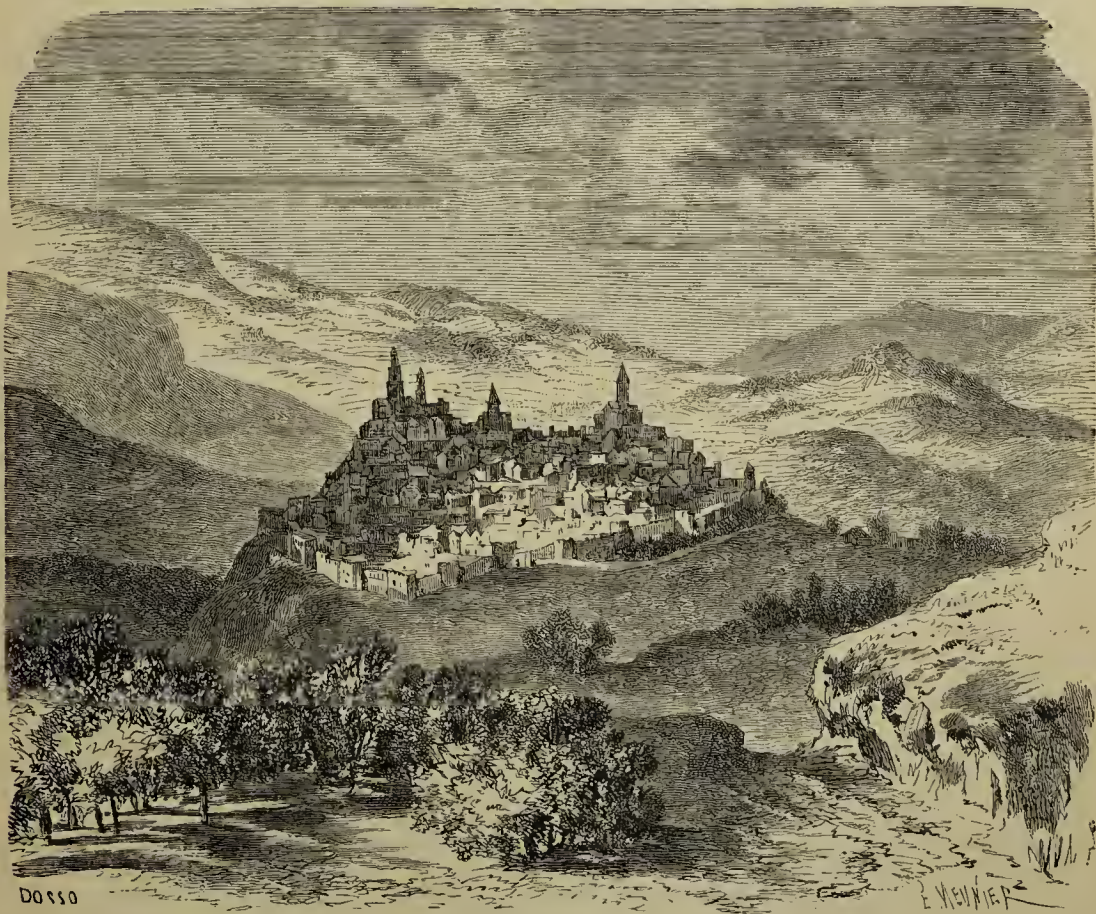
A SHEPHERD.<sup>1</sup>

escape with all his corps. Varinius himself was several times repulsed, losing his lictors and his war-horse, which Spartacus appropriated. This bandit chief showed himself a skilful general and prudent tactician. He was never dazzled by success, and, while his followers made war like slaves let loose against their masters, he matured plans of attack, and, still better, plans for retreat. He under-

<sup>1</sup> Statue (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 34).



stood perfectly well that bands like his could not permanently get the better of the Roman power, and it was his intention to lead them towards the Alps, so that, crossing these mountains, they should each make his escape to his native country,—Gaul or Thrace. But to obtain revenge and pleasure, to kill the men, to ravish the women, to hold their orgies in some captured villa whose owners should be their cup-bearers, to celebrate for a dead



VIEW OF NUCERIA.<sup>1</sup>

comrade pompous funeral-rites, at which three hundred Romans should fight in their turn as gladiators,—this was all that these degraded creatures desired from liberty. When Spartacus spoke of marching northwards, his ribald band refused to follow him.

The Senate had at first been ashamed to despatch legionaries against enemies like these; but now they had begun to be formidable. Many farms had been laid in ashes, and even cities—Nola,

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Nuceria, Cora, Metapontum — had been sacked with the fury of men who at last could glut their long pent-up revenge. On one occasion, to save the remnant in a city where his gladiators were killing everybody, Spartacus was obliged to sound an alarm, as if the legions were approaching, and his band must escape with all haste to avoid capture. He made Thurii his depot, and established workshops and stores of arms: from this place he issued an appeal calling all the slaves to liberty, and a hundred thousand men had soon gathered about him.



COIN OF META-  
PONTUM.<sup>1</sup>

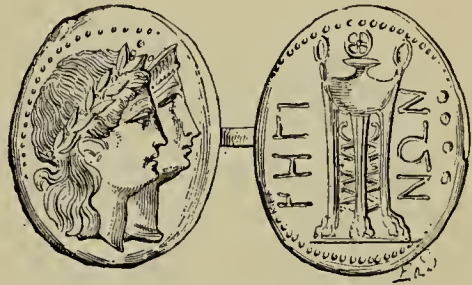
Necessity now silenced the scruples of the Senate: two consular armies were made ready against these bandits who had proved themselves such valiant soldiers (72). Gellius, one of the consuls, fell unexpectedly upon a body of Germans, who through pride had withdrawn from the army of Spartacus, and cut them to pieces. But he was less fortunate with the main army. Lentulus, his colleague, who had divided his force with the intention of surrounding the enemy, experienced, in turn, grave reverses; and another army of ten thousand men, arriving from Cisalpine Gaul, had the same fate. At the elections of 71 no candidate presented himself to solicit the dangerous honor of fighting the hero who had appeared in a slave's frock.

Crassus, that lieutenant of Sylla to whom was due the main credit of the victory at the Colline Gate, offered himself, and was commissioned for the Servile war, with the title of praetor. Attracted by his renown, many volunteers came forward, and eight legions were soon organized. He encamped in Picenum to await Spartacus, who was advancing in that direction, whilst his lieutenant Mummius and two legions, expressly prohibited from fighting, or even skirmishing, made a wide circuit to follow the enemy at a distance. But, on the first occasion that offered, Mummius gave battle to Spartacus, and was defeated with great loss, while those who survived threw down their arms and fled. Crassus was very severe to Mummius and his soldiers. Five hundred among those who had set the example of cowardice were separated from the rest, and every tenth man put to death.

<sup>1</sup> This coin represents the river Achelous personified as a horned man, holding the reed and the patera (De Luynes, *Métap.* pl. 2).



"Spartacus now retreated through Lucania towards the sea, and in the straits, meeting with some Cilician pirate-ships, he had thoughts of attempting Sicily, where, by landing two thousand men, he hoped to rekindle the war of the slaves. But, after the pirates had struck a bargain with him and received his money, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the sea, and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium: there Crassus came upon him, and set to work to build a wall across the isthmus, thus keeping his soldiers at once from idleness, and his foes from forage. This great and difficult work he perfected in a space of time short beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one sea to the other, over the neck of land three hundred stadia long, fifteen feet broad, and as much in depth, and above it built a wonderfully high and strong wall;<sup>2</sup> all which Spartacus at first slighted and despised. But when provisions began to fail, and he found he was walled in, taking the opportunity of a snowy, stormy night, he filled up part of the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and so passed his army over.

COIN OF RHEGIUM.<sup>1</sup>

"Crassus was afraid lest he should march directly to Rome, but was soon relieved of that fear when he saw his enemies dividing. He defeated one corps of them, but could not pursue the slaughter, because Spartacus suddenly came up, and checked their flight. Now he began to repent that he had written to the Senate to call Lucullus out of Thrace, and Pompey out of Spain; so that he did all he could to finish the war at once, knowing that its honors would accrue to him that came to his assistance. Resolving, therefore, first to set upon those that had mutinied and encamped apart, he sent six thousand men to surprise them; but, being discovered by two women that were sacrificing for the enemy, they had been in great hazard, had not Crassus immediately

<sup>1</sup> Heads of Apollo and Diana coupled. On the reverse PHΓINΩN and a tripod. Bronze coin of Rhegium. (See vol. i. p. 557, another coin of this city.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably this was in the region of Castrovillari and Cassano, where the breadth of the isthmus is only about twelve or thirteen leagues. Three hundred stadia are fifty-five and a half kilometers, about thirty-eight miles.



appeared, and engaged in a battle which proved to be a most bloody one. Of twelve thousand three hundred whom he killed, two only were found wounded in the back, the rest all having died standing in their ranks, and fighting bravely. Spartacus, after this discomfiture, retired to the mountains of Petelia (Strongoli, in Calabria), followed by the lieutenant and the quaestor of Crassus. But when Spartacus rallied, and faced them, they were utterly routed, and fled. This success, however, ruined Spartacus, because



COIN OF PETELIA.<sup>1</sup>

it encouraged the slaves, who now disdained any longer to avoid fighting, or to obey their officers. but upon the march northwards came to them with sword in hand, and compelled them to march back again through Lucania against the Romans,—the very thing which Crassus desired; for news was already brought that Pompey was at hand, and people began to talk openly that the honor of this war was reserved for him.

“Crassus, therefore, eager to fight a decisive battle, encamped very near the enemy, and began to make lines of circumvallation; but the slaves made a sally, and attacked the pioneers. As fresh supplies came in on either side, Spartacus, seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his army in array, and, when his horse was brought him, he drew out his sword and killed him, saying, if he got the day, he should have a great many better horses of the enemies’, and, if he lost it, he should have no need of this. And so, making directly towards Crassus himself, through the midst of arms and wounds, he missed him, but slew two centurions that fell upon him together, standing his ground, and bravely defending himself until he was cut to pieces” (71).<sup>2</sup>

Of this formidable army only the fragments now remained, who, returning too late to the first design of their brave leader, made their way northward, seeking the Alps. Pompey, on his return from Spain, encountered them, and slew five thousand more. “Crassus has conquered Spartacus in battle,” he wrote to the Senate; “but I have plucked up the whole war by the roots.”

<sup>1</sup> Head of Ceres. On the reverse ΠΕΤΗΛΙΝΩΝ; Jupiter wielding his thunderbolt, and walking; a star and letter H. Bronze coin of Petelia.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Crass.* and Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 14.

Spartacus had, as far as possible, reduced the horrors of this war. In Rhegium were found three thousand Roman prisoners whom he had spared. The Senate, however, had no pity for those who had caused Rome to tremble. Six thousand crosses were set up on the high road between Capua and Rome, and as many prisoners hung upon them. The conquerors, rejoicing, and wreathed with flowers, returned to Rome along this dolorous way, beneath the cries of pain and the maledictions of the dying wretches.

ROMAN WARRIORS.<sup>1</sup>

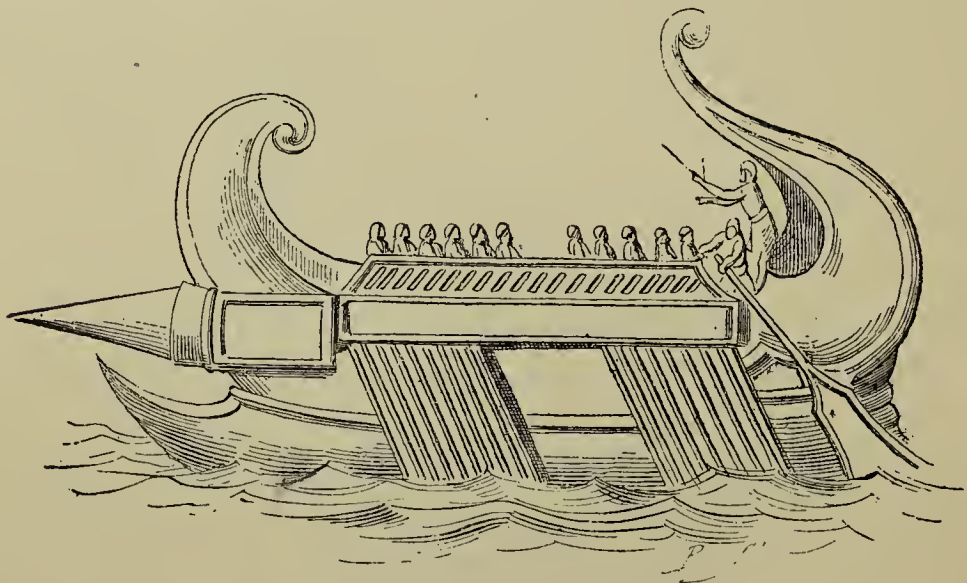
Pompey, who had been absent seven years, was impatiently awaited by the people, who loudly extolled the fame of the “invincible hero.” Crassus obtained only an ovation. He had fought against a hundred thousand enemies; but Rome was not willing to avow that a second time she had trembled before her slaves.

## II. — RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES (70).

AT Athens, in the Temple of Minerva, were certain movable columns which turned under the hand, at the slightest touch: upon these columns the laws were engraved. It was an image of the mobile character of those ancient republics, changing under the people's hand, at the will of circumstances or of one man, and, as in a fatal circle, forever turning, — going from Solon to Pisistratus, from Hippias to Clisthenes, from Aristides to Cleon. As soon as Rome had lost the love of her old laws, and the virtues which sustained those laws, her life, like that of Athens, became one perpetual revolution. Powers in the State not being separated from one another, a consul, a tribune, or the sovereign assembly destroyed on the morrow what they had established the day before.

<sup>1</sup> From Nicolini, *Op. cit.* vol. ii. pl. iii., a painting in the gladiators' barracks at Pompeii.

During his consulship; Lepidus had restored the distributions of corn at reduced price, which Sylla had suppressed. In 77 Lepidus failed in an attempt to destroy by violence the dictator's entire work; but the year following, the tribune Licinius, supported by Caesar, very nearly succeeded in this. If he obtained nothing, he at least spoke to the people, and notwithstanding the Cornelian law, which had left the tribuneship only a vain shadow, *inanis species*,<sup>1</sup> he forced the consuls to reply by his sarcasms. Shortly after,

GREEK PIRATE VESSEL (HEMIOLIA).<sup>2</sup>

he fell by an assassin's hand.<sup>3</sup> He bore the same name with that tribune of the people created four centuries earlier upon the Sacred Mount, and it is possible he may have been his descendant. If he fell under the hand of the nobles, he atoned, perhaps, not only for himself, but for the founder of an office which now seemed to many more odious than ever. But the ally, which in the time of Coriolanus had been useful to the first tribunes, now served them again. A famine, caused by the scanty harvests, and, above all, by the

<sup>1</sup> Discourse of Licinius Macer in the *Fragments* of Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> Enlarged from a coin.

<sup>3</sup> Cie., *Brut.* 60. Macer says, *circumventus est*, and, further on, *ad exitium usque insontis tribuni dominatus est*, the consul Curio. This period was more agitated than the paucity of documents which remain concerning it would lead us to believe. In the *Pro Cluentio*, 34, Cicero speaks of a quaestor who sought to excite insurrection in the army, and of another senator condemned for having caused the revolt of a legion in Illyria. Macer (in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*) speaks of the despotism exercised by Catulus, of the tumults which took place during the consulships of Brutus and Mamercus, of the tyranny of Curio, whom he accuses of having killed Licinius, etc.



depredations of the pirates, who arrested the supplies on their way to Rome, exasperated the people. To appease them, one of the consuls of the year 75, C. Cotta, re-established the distribution of five bushels of corn monthly, *annona*,<sup>1</sup> and made a proposal to restore to the tribunes the right of haranguing the people and of holding other offices. The tribune Opimius, however, who brought forward a law contrary to those of Sylla, and attempted to oppose his veto to a decree of the Senate, by a decision of the praetor lost both his property and his office.<sup>2</sup>

THE ANNONA.<sup>3</sup>

The re-action, therefore, went on slowly, but it went on, aided by the very abuse which the Senate made of their victory, giving up the allies to pillage, and selling the verdicts of the tribunals. "These disorders will never cease," said the tribune Quinctius, "until we have re-established in their rights those vigilant magistrates whose incorruptible activity caused a wholesome fear." He even obtained the condemnation of C. Junius, the presiding officer of a tribunal, and he accused many judges.<sup>4</sup> But Lucullus, at that time consul (74), stopped him, perhaps by buying his silence.

The year after, there came to the tribuneship a man of talent and audacity, Licinius Macer, one of whose speeches has been saved from the wreck of time. "What a difference," he exclaimed, "between the rights transmitted to you from your ancestors and the slavery imposed on you by Sylla! . . . Those who have been set up to defend you have turned the whole power you gave them against you. They have submitted themselves to the rule of a faction, who in time of war have assumed the control of the treasury, of the army, and of the provinces. In all these civil commotions, though other objects are pretended, the contention on

<sup>1</sup> It is not said that Cotta re-established them; but Macer speaks of these distributions as being very recent, and before this mentions Cotta as chief of a third party, who sought by frivolous concessions to deceive the people (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*).

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *In Verr.*, II. i. 60: *bona, fortunas, ornamenta omnia amiserit.*

<sup>3</sup> ANNONA AVGVSTI CERES. Bronze of Nero's time. The *annona*, indicated by her cornucopia, is standing before the seated figure of Ceres: the goddess holds out to her ears of corn.

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *Pro Cluentio*, 33, 34; Ps. Aseon., p. 103; Plut., *Lucull.* 5.

both sides is for sovereignty over you.<sup>1</sup> . . . One thing only has continued to be the aim of both parties, — to take from you the tribunitian power, the weapon prepared by your ancestors for the defence of your liberty.

“Give not to slavery the title of tranquillity. . . . Reflect, too, that, unless you gain the mastery, they will press you harder than before, since all injustice seeks to increase its safety by severity.

“‘What think you that we should do, then?’ some one will say. First of all, I think that you should lay aside your present fashion of talking much and doing little, and of forgetting liberty the moment you leave the Forum. You yourselves, by executing the lordly commands of the consuls and decrees of the senators, give them your sanction and authority, and increase and strengthen the despotism exercised over you. . . . I do not recommend armed violence, or a secession, but only that you should forbear to shed your blood in their behalf. Let them hold and exercise their offices in their own way; let them obtain triumphs; let them pursue Mithridates, as well as Sertorius and the remnant of the exiles, with the images of their ancestors: but let danger and toil be far from you who have no share in the advantage of them; unless, indeed, your services have been repaid by the late law for the distribution of corn, — a law by which they have estimated the liberty of each individual at the price of five bushels of corn, an allowance not more liberal than that which is granted to prisoners.”

Macer did not counsel a refusal to pay taxes,<sup>2</sup> as has been done in modern times, for the reason that there was no longer any tax paid in Rome. He proposed the refusal of military duty, —

<sup>1</sup> Phaedrus (i. 15) brings forward this idea, whose truth was to be made apparent to the Romans of that day: —

In principatu commutando saepius  
Nil praeter domini nomen mutant pauperes.

— “By the change of rulers the poor usually gain nothing but a change of masters.”

<sup>2</sup> Macer adds a sentence worth remembering for the comprehension of the corn-laws: “This corn which they give you is your own property (*vestrarum rerum*), and this paltry boon suffices not to relieve you from domestic anxieties (*neque absolvit cura familiari tam parva res*).” He was right on the first point, and all the customary declamations on this subject will never make it true, that, to the mind of the ancients, the tribute of natural products paid by subject nations was not the property of the Roman people themselves. (See vol. ii. p. 473.) On the second point also he was right: a family could not live upon its five *modii* monthly. This assistance given to the Roman poor no more relieved them from the necessity of labor than does the aid we furnish to our objects of charity enable them to live in idleness.

a new and serious suggestion, for Sertorius and Spartacus were not yet defeated; Mithridates was again assuming the offensive; Thrace required repeated expeditions; and the pirates covered the seas. If he had been listened to, the nobles would certainly have sacrificed their animosities for the safety of Rome; but, to follow their tribune, the people required a spirit of discipline and a resolution which they no longer possessed. Men continued, therefore, in the words of Macer, to speak instead of acting; but they spoke much. They cried out against those tribunals which Sylla had established, where the senator who had devoured a province was secure of impunity on condition of abandoning a portion of his plunder to his colleagues who had remained at home, and who were now his judges. Men extolled the beneficent severity of the early censorship, the good results of the tribunes' veto,—things all now dead, but which, if they could be restored to life, would give back tranquillity and dignity to the State.

Far off in Spain, Pompey heard these complaints. Such had been the skilful moderation of his conduct, that both parties feared him equally, and at the same time both looked to him with hope. He assumed the position of mediator, writing to Rome, that if, before his return, harmony should not have been restored between the Senate and the people, he himself would labor to adjust matters immediately upon his arrival.<sup>1</sup> Another general, who became an emperor, began his political career thus eighty years ago. The Roman Senate was neither more clear-sighted nor stronger than the French Directory. Living, like the latter, by expedients, and from day to day, the Senate accepted, for the sake of gaining a little time, this ominous interposition of a military chief, and made reply to the tribunes that it would be necessary to await the return of the great Pompey (72).

He arrived at the close of the following year (71); and the applause of the people won him completely. The whole city went out to meet him. He accepted, rather than solicited, the consulship and a triumph. Having been a general before he was a soldier, he now became consul without having been quaestor, aedile, or praetor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Hist. fragm.*

<sup>2</sup> He was so much a stranger at this time to civil affairs, that he asked his friend Varro to prepare for him memoranda on the home administration, a sort of consular manual, *εἰσαγωγικόν*, as to what a consul should say or do in the Senate (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xiv. 7).



Crassus, who, notwithstanding his public services and his profuse liberality towards the people,<sup>1</sup> was almost forgotten in this triumph of his rival, dared not show his discontent; and it was only after obtaining Pompey's approbation, that he solicited the second consulship.

There are two kinds of ambition, — that of superior men who feel themselves able to accomplish great things, and that of the incapable, who seek power for the mere enjoyment of it. To the Gracchi, Sylla, and Caesar, belongs the former kind of ambition: Marius and Pompey had only the latter. For six years Pompey had kept aloof from party strife; but, when war was at an end, the Forum resumed its power. It was there that reputations were now to be won, and authority to be gained. Either Pompey must fall quickly into obscurity, or he must at last speak and show his colors. Should he take sides with the Senate, or with the people? Neither his own antecedents nor the welfare of the State acted as the deciding influence. The Senate had leaders after its own heart, — men filled with the *esprit de corps*, having but little personal ambition; partisans of law and order, — such law and order, at least, as Sylla had created. Catulus, for example, was the oracle of this assembly, and Lucullus its hero. In the Senate, Pompey would have been simply absorbed. He remembered, that, after his successes against Lepidus, the attempt had been made to compel him to disband his army. Sylla, moreover, had left nothing more to be done for the nobility by which their gratitude could be secured: the people, on the contrary, awaited everything, and could bestow everything in return. Pompey went over to the people.

In an assembly convoked by a tribune at the gates of the city before the triumph of Pompey, the latter had declared that the popular magistracy must be set free from its restrictions, that the provinces must be relieved from pillage, and the tribunals purged from venality, that is to say, that at every point the authority of the Senate must be overthrown, and the work of the dictator undone.<sup>2</sup> Very early in his official career, a Pompeian law, sharply contested by the senatorial leaders, but supported by Crassus and

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, in *Crassus*. He had invited the populace to an entertainment where ten thousand tables were set, and had distributed among them corn enough to last three months.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., in *Verr.*, I. 15. This tribune was M. Lollius Palicanus, and acted as Pompey's agent in the affair. See vol. i. pp. 422 and 524, and the coin commemorating this occurrence.

Caesar, restored to the tribuneship all its rights. Pompey's legions, encamped near the city, had rendered it impossible for the Senate to make an effectual resistance (70).

After the people came the turn of the knights. They obtained the re-establishment of their privileges of farming out the revenue of the province of Asia, and they claimed the judgeships as eagerly as the people had clamored for the old tribunate. But on this latter point Pompey left the chief part to others.

Cicero, though very brave in the Forum or the curia, wherever speech is a weapon, had less courage in the ordinary routine of life. After the two orations, one of which at least was a direct attack on the Cornelian legislation, he went off prudently to Athens and Rhodes to obtain from the Greeks the sole treasure they still possessed, — the art of Isocrates.<sup>1</sup> Rome had already seen great orators, but never before that harmonious fluency, that brilliancy, that inexhaustible raciness, that clearness of style, which permanently stamped the Latin language. At thirty years of age (76) he entered official life as quaestor in Sicily, filling the position with honor, and he was soliciting the aedileship at the time when the Sicilians intrusted to him their cause against Verres.<sup>3</sup> Cicero saw, that in the midst of the re-action at this time going on, and in which he cordially sympathized, such a case might be raised to the height of a great political event.<sup>4</sup> Although a member of the Senate since his quaestorship, he belonged to the equestrian order. Here lay his friendship, his interests, and hence came his political ideas. Cicero desired to have the judgeships given back to the knights, according to the law of Caius Gracchus, for the purpose of reconstructing that third rank which would maintain the balance of power in the State.<sup>5</sup> Now Verres was a senator; the



COIN OF  
RHODES.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This residence of two years in Greece (79–78) is explained by motives of health and the desire to complete his literary education. This may be the real explanation. In 79 Sylla had abdicated.

<sup>2</sup> Head of the sun with rays, right profile. Rhodian drachma. See p. 188, the Rhodian rose. [The Colossus of Rhodes had been an image of Helios, perhaps copied on the coins. — *Ed.*]

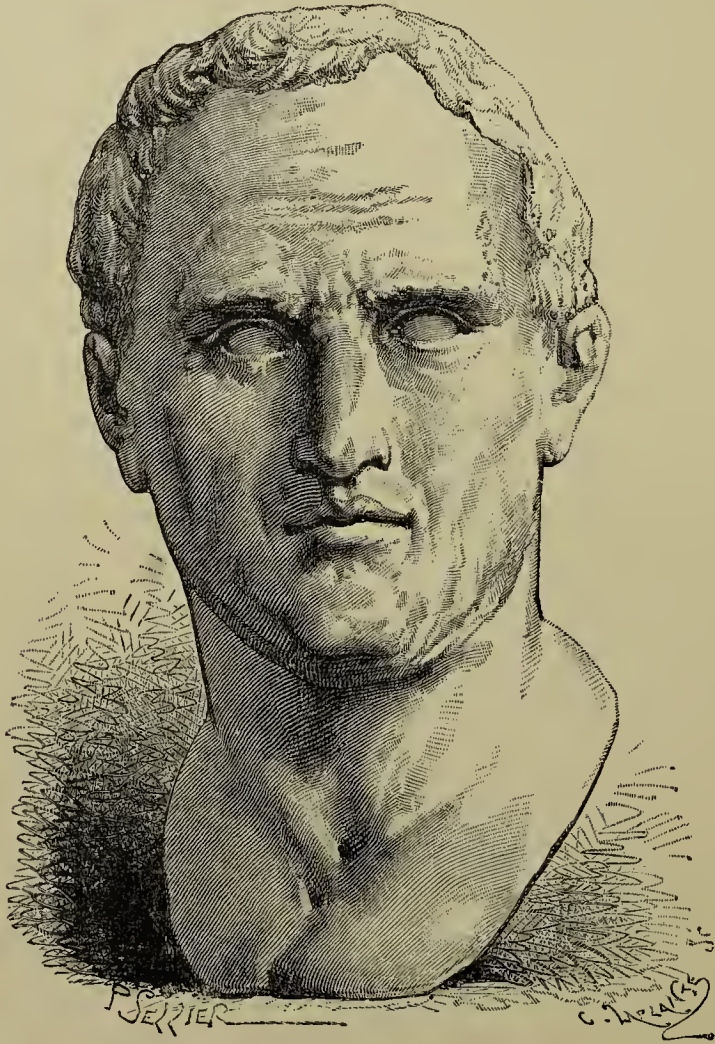
<sup>3</sup> Verres had been for three years praetor in Sicily (73–71).

<sup>4</sup> Cicero says expressly (*In Verr.*, II. v. 69) that the law concerning the judicia was proposed in consequence of the prosecution of Verres.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero served at once his own interests and those of his party. Hortensius was the leader at the bar, and the Verrine orations deprived him of his superiority. Ultimately the



Metelli and the Scipios supported him; Hortensius, the consul-elect, was his counsel; and the accused said openly that he was sure of acquittal because he had divided his three-years' plunder into three parts, — one for his advocate, one for his judges, and the third only for himself. Cicero attacked him boldly, and in the opening sentences of his speech showed his policy (70).

CICERO.<sup>1</sup>

“There has long existed an opinion fatal to the Republic; and even among foreign nations it has become a matter of common remark, that in your courts a rich man cannot be condemned.” He then refers to the words of Catulus, reproaching the senators who by their venality as judges had re-established the tribunitian

two advocates often pleaded on the same side; but Hortensius always allowed Cicero to speak last. (Cf. *Pro Murena*; *Pro Rabirio*, etc.)

<sup>1</sup> From a bust of Parian marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3294.



power, and to Pompey's words: "The provinces have been pillaged, and justice sold to the highest bidder. These abuses must be arrested." <sup>1</sup>

"This I undertake," he exclaims: "this duty of my aedileship, most glorious and most honorable, I promise to perform . . . everything shall not only be made public, but also, where evidence can be had, shall be matter of legal action,—everything of an infamous and disgraceful character that has been done in judicial business within the ten years of the jurisdiction of the Senate." <sup>2</sup> And he ventured to add, forgetting Rutilius and the many scandalous acquittals, "The Roman people shall learn through me why and how it is, that, when the equestrian order exercised jurisdiction for almost fifty years in succession, in no case of a Roman knight acting as judge did there ever occur the slightest suspicion of venality."

Verres, in alarm, fled after the first hearing, abandoning to the Sicilians forty-five million sesterces. But the avenging eloquence of Cicero pursued him even in his exile. The orator wrote what he had not been able to deliver: he unrolled the long picture of the crimes of Verres, and ended, as he had begun, with threats against the nobles. "So long as force constrained her, Rome endured royal despotism; but on the day when the tribuneship recovered its rights, your reign, mark you, was ended." Their power, indeed, could not survive these scandalous revelations. An uncle of Caesar, the praetor Aurelius Cotta, carried a law <sup>3</sup> by which, according to the wise arrangement of Plautius Sylvanus, the judicia were divided between the senators, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He says of the Senate (*De Leg.* iii. 12), *Non modo et censores, sed etiam et iudices omnes potest defutigare.* In 74, however, the Senate had timidly asked for a law against the venality of the judges; which law neither L. Lueullus nor his brother Marcus, who succeeded him in the consulship, were willing to propose (*Cic., Pro Cluentio*, 49).

<sup>2</sup> Upon the corruption and venality of the tribunals, see Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 22, 35, 37; Walter, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts.* ch. xxviii. § 237, 238; Ascon. in *Cic., In Verr.*, II. v. 141–145; and *Cic., Ad Att.* i. 16. When venality did not succeed, they had recourse to entreaties. See a singular example of these supplications in *Cic., Pro Scauro* (Orelli), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See *In Verr.*, II. iii. 96, the efforts of Aurelius, who spoke every day from the rostra against the senatorial courts.

<sup>4</sup> The tribunes of the treasury, *curatores* of the tribes (see vol. i. p. 242), were originally the army paymasters (cf. Anlus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vii. 10; Varro, i. 4; Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 27; and Festus, s. v. *Aerarii*). It is not known in what way the *tribuni aerarii*, originally officials,

Cicero gained a brilliant victory. It did not, however, prevent the accuser of Verres from defending, a few years later, Fonteius, the spoiler of Narbonensis. In the eyes of the great advocate, his art took precedence even of justice itself. Concerning the latter, he was not always solicitous, for his language was "that of the cause, not of the speaker;"<sup>1</sup> and there are always to be found artists in pleading for an impossible defence.

This year (70) was one of expiation for the senators. The restoration of the tribuneship to its early rights took from them half what Sylla had given them, and the prosecution of Verres deprived them of the rest. Humiliated as a political body, they were personally attacked by the censorship, which also re-appeared at this decisive date. Sixty-four senators were expelled: the nobility itself, which Cicero still pursued with his sarcasms, was thus degraded.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding all the blood shed by Sylla, his political work had not lasted eight years, and the constitution of the Gracchi was again emerging.

When the censors made out their list of the equestrian order, Pompey, who, although consul, was not yet senator in rank,<sup>3</sup> appeared as knight merely,<sup>4</sup> in order to do honor to the new power of his order. He came into the Forum, leading his horse by the bridle. "Have you made all the campaigns required by the law?" the censor asked; and Pompey replied, "I have made them all, and under myself as general." This haughty answer was an insult to his country's law and to the principles of equality;

became a class in the State: doubtless they were required, by reason of their financial responsibility, to possess a certain amount of property, and the name of aerarian tribunes came at last to be applied to all who had that amount, as that of "knight" was taken by all of the equestrian census. In the latter days of the Republic this was four hundred thousand sesterces, and that of the duenary judges in the time of Augustus was two hundred thousand. It may be supposed that the tribunes of the treasury had an intermediate fortune, three hundred thousand sesterces; for they are placed in the judicial laws of Augustus between the knights and the *duenarii*. In this case they would have been citizens of the second class; the knights forming the first, and the *duenarii* the third.

<sup>1</sup> Cie., *Pro Cluentio*, 50.

<sup>2</sup> *In Verr.*, II. v. 71.

<sup>3</sup> And could not be, since he had not before his consulship filled any senatorial office, which would have given him the *jus sententiae dicendae*.

<sup>4</sup> Soon after, in 67, Roseius Otho, the tribune, fixed the census of the knights at four hundred thousand sesterces (about sixteen thousand dollars), and assigned to them in the theatres fourteen rows of separate seats (*Livy*, *Epit.* xix.; *Dion.*, xxxvi. 25).

but the crowd, who only sought a master, applauded: even the censors rose, and accompanied him to his house, followed by all the populace.

Pompey was for the moment the hero of the multitude; but never was popular hero more ill suited to play his part. To live among the people, to be of access to everyone, to undertake warmly the cause of even the humblest citizen; to know every man by name, and to manifest an indefatigable activity in behalf of each man's rights and pleasures; to speak on every cause and for every individual,—such was the hard life of the demagogue.<sup>1</sup> Pompey, accustomed from boyhood to command, disliked seeking the favor of the crowd: his cold, grave character did not respond to the enthusiasms of the Forum.<sup>2</sup> He would have worthily represented a peaceful empire: in a stormy republic he was out of place. It would have been, therefore, safe to predict, that yielding to his instincts, and in spite of his ambition, he would end by returning to the aristocratic party. In the two years which followed his consulship, he rarely appeared in public,<sup>3</sup> and was always accompanied by a numerous suite, who kept the crowd away as from the presence of a king. He understood, however, that this nominal royalty would weary the people, and that it would be wise for him to keep the public enthusiasm alive by new services. A war alone could give him the needed opportunity.

### III.—WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

SINCE the shock caused the Republic by the Gracchi, there had been only trouble within and revolt without. Liberty had perished in the struggle, but power was preserved; and the provinces fell back into a more oppressed condition than before. But at every epoch of slavery there are men who prefer to be bandits rather than to be slaves. The wide sea was the asylum of those who refused to live under the Roman law: they became pirates, and, since the

<sup>1</sup> See the advice of Quintus to Cicero, *De Petitione consulatus*.

<sup>2</sup> Later we shall see him in opposition to Clodius. At Miletus, the orator Aeschines having been too free of speech in his presence, he either caused him, or permitted him, to be sent into exile, where the unfortunate man died. (Strabo, IV. i. 7.)

<sup>3</sup> He refused a consular province, being unwilling to spend a year in obscurity.



Senate had destroyed the navies of the world without in any way replacing them, the profits were certain, the risk was nothing. This brigandage, therefore, within a few years had attained a very unexpected development. Mithridates received important assistance from the pirates during his wars, and when, upon the order of Sylla, he disbanded his marine forces, his sailors at once added themselves to the pirate fleet. From all quarters men flocked to this standard, equally attractive to the brave and the rapacious. Ruined and desperate men from every party, those who had lost their fortunes by war or by the decree of justice, citizens banished

VESSELS LADEN WITH PLUNDER AND TROOPS.<sup>1</sup>

from their homes, slaves who had escaped from prison, — all were received here. Even men of distinguished origin shared in this chase of Ionian, Egyptian, and Greek merchants. The sea between Cyrene and Crete, and between Crete and Delos or Smyrna, was called by them “the Golden Gulf,”<sup>2</sup> so many were the captures their rapid vessels made in these waters. They made no attempt at concealment. Gold and purple and precious stuffs adorned their vessels, some of which had their oars plated with silver; and every capture was followed by long orgies to the sound of musical instru-

<sup>1</sup> From a Pompeian painting (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. fifth series, pl. 14). The first of these four boats bears at the stern either a laurel or a palm branch, emblem of a successful expedition. The prow represents the head and breast of a bird. Two of the others have a human face. By these emblems the vessels are designated and recognized.

<sup>2</sup> Florus, iii. 6.

ments. We may fancy their songs to have been like those of Byron's "Corsair:" —

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,  
Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,  
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,  
Survey our empire, and behold our home!

Ours the wild life in tumult still to range  
From toil to rest, and joy in every change.  
No dread of death—if with us die our foes —  
Save that it seems even duller than repose!"

Cilicia, with its numberless harbors and its mountains descending to the coast, had been their first lair; but upon all shores they had their stores, their places of refuge, and their watchtowers. They were believed to be masters of a thousand vessels; they had at this time pillaged more than four hundred cities, Cnidus, Samos, Colophon, and the most venerated temples, among others those of Samothrace and Epidaurus, of Neptune on the isthmus of Corinth, and of Juno at Samos and at Argos; and it is well known that temples at that time contained not merely offerings to the gods, but deposits made by their worshippers. From the temple of



COIN OF CNIDUS.<sup>1</sup>



COIN OF COLOPHON.<sup>2</sup>

Samos they took away a thousand talents. A poet of that day wrote after the pillage of Delos, "They have reduced Apollo to poverty, and, of the great wealth that he had stored up, there is left him not so much as one little piece of gold which he might give as a present." These pirates, however, who were, for the most part, Asiatics, had a form of worship, — but it was a barbarous ceremonial, the sanguinary mysteries of Mithra, — which they were the first to disseminate in the West.

<sup>1</sup> ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ. [Copied from the famous Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles.] Time of Caracalla.

<sup>2</sup> ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ(ατηγῶν) ΚΑ(αυδίου) ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ. Apollo Clarius seated in a temple, before which are thirteen figures of representatives of Ionia raising the right hand (see p. 250, *seq.*); in the centre a bull before the altar. Bronze coin of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, struck at Colophon.

There were too many Greeks among them for these robber-bands not to have framed a theory of their honorable calling. "There is no injustice," they said, "in recovering by skill that which has been lost by violence. The possession which powerful men have snatched from us all at once we recover by degrees." It was therefore with a calm conscience that they plied their profitable trade. Nor does it, in fact, appear, since right in ancient times was merely the right of the strongest, why this organized state of pirates should not be regarded as masters of the sea as legitimately as were the Romans of the land.

Robin Hood was wont to spare the Saxon churl, and slay the Norman sheriff: in like manner the pirates were pitiless towards the Roman, setting his ransom at a high price, and selling him into far-off countries when he could not pay it. At times, when a prisoner exclaimed, with the haughty cry that kings respected, "I am a Roman citizen!" they would feign amazement and terror, and, falling prostrate before him, beg for pardon; then they would bring to him sandals and a toga, that he might no longer be unknown, and then, after having made themselves merry long enough with his credulous dignity, they would attach a ladder to the vessel's side, and beg him to descend on his way to the Eternal City. This was the fate of the praetor Bellianus.

From Phoenicia to the Pillars of Hercules not a vessel passed that did not pay blackmail. Italy and Greece being all seacoast, the Graeco-Roman world lived along the shore, and there were their finest villas and most beautiful cities. How much anxiety and distress was caused by the sudden incursions of these bandits! Two praetors with their rods and lictors were carried off: Brundisium, Misenum, Cajeta, even Ostia, at the very gates of Rome, suffered pillage. Lipara paid them an annual tribute. One of their leaders had the audacity to enter the harbor of Syracuse with four of his vessels: another burned in Ostia a consular fleet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [It is not generally known how terribly this evil was reproduced by the Saracens and Turks in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. All the coasts of Italy and Greece again became depopulated, and the modern towns of Calabria are mostly still, like eagles' nests, on the top of cliffs far from the sea. It was not till the present century that the last stronghold of these hornets, Algiers, was destroyed by England and France. Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, v. 90, *seq.* — *Ed.*]



At this moment Sertorius was inciting revolt in Spain; Spartacus was about to call the gladiators to arms; and Mithridates was preparing a new war in Asia. It would have been possible for the pirates to serve as a bond between all these rebels; but this immense force, which might have given its chief vast power, — as happened later, in the case of Sextus Pompeius, — lacked discipline and union. Brigandage was more intelligible to their minds than statecraft: they did indeed conduct the envoys of Sertorius to Mithridates;<sup>1</sup> but they were false to Spartacus, and caused his ruin.

So long as they had pillaged only the Greeks or the Syrians, they had been left undisturbed. The oligarchy which governed the Roman world cared but little for the misfortunes of the subject nations; piracy, indeed, in one aspect, was profitable to the nobles, for the price of slaves became low, thanks to the pirates, who kept the markets overstocked. But when they waylaid the Roman convoys laden with grain, then it was that the famished people began to feel that their dignity was wounded by this bandit insolence; and a vigorous effort was made against them (78).

The occupation of Cilicia, which the praetor Antonius commenced in the year 103, had not been prosecuted with the ardor usually shown by the Romans in extending their provinces. The Senate had contented itself with establishing in this country a military post, whence a watch was kept upon the Syrian kings, and upon the kings of Pontus and Armenia, if they should venture into Asia Minor; but no attempt had been made to destroy the establishments of the pirates all along the coasts. Sylla, praetor in Cilicia in 92, did not concern himself with anything beyond the Taurus.<sup>2</sup> The ambitious designs of Mithridates were beginning to appear, and caused the pirates to be forgotten; so that the latter, during the great struggle of the Pontic king with Rome, and especially during the Social and Civil wars, were left to increase undisturbed. The dictator, however, had not by any means lost sight of them: in 79 he caused a grandson of Metellus Macedonicus, Servilius Vatia, to be made consul, and the year after, the latter

<sup>1</sup> The war of Sertorius lasted from 82 to 72; that of Spartacus, from 73 to 71; that of Mithridates recommenced in 74; and the pirates had been attacked as early as the year 103 by the orator Marcus Antonius. This war was a legacy of the civil wars, the revolt of the provinces and of the slaves. (Cf. Appian, *Mithrid.* 43.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 609.

was sent as proconsul in Cilicia with a powerful fleet and an army. He was an upright man and a valiant captain. The pirates had only racing vessels, “sea-mice,”<sup>1</sup> very swift, but incapable of resisting the shock of the galleys. Servilius destroyed a great number of them in a naval battle which they were imprudent enough to accept in sight of Patara; then, for more than three

TRIUMPHAL COIN OF SERVILIUS.<sup>2</sup>

years,<sup>3</sup> he occupied himself in attacking and destroying, one after another, a multitude of their strongholds. These were laborious campaigns, in which the struggle was even more against nature than against man, — in summer, torrid heats and deadly miasma; in winter, the icy winds from the snowy summits of Taurus; the rivers were torrents, the roads, gorges impracticable to regular troops. Built on the steep declivities of the mountains, each fortress required an actual siege, in which the persistency of the defenders equalled the tenacity of the attacking force. At Olympus

COIN OF PATARA.<sup>4</sup>COIN OF ISAURA.<sup>5</sup>

the bandit chief, rather than surrender, made an immense pile of his booty, set it on fire, and perished in the flames. When Servilius believed that he had destroyed the chief nests of the pirates, he went across the Taurus in search of the Isaurians, those pirates of the land, whom no government had ever been able completely to subjugate. Like the eagle, who makes her eyry at the highest point, that she may see her prey afar off, they had perched their principal town, Isaura, on a steep cliff overlooking the plain of Iconium. Servilius subdued the place by cutting through the solid rock a new channel for the mountain torrent that brought

<sup>1</sup> Μυσάρων, boat-mouse.

<sup>2</sup> M. SERVILIUS LEG. Head of Liberty. On the reverse Q. CAEPIO BRUTVS IMP. Trophy. Coin of the Servilian family.

<sup>3</sup> Three years according to Eutropius (vi. 3) and Orosius (v. 23); five (78–74) according to Cicero (*In Verr.*, II. iii. 91, 211).

<sup>4</sup> ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ. Apollo holding a laurel-branch, between a raven, prophetic bird, and a tripod. Reverse of a bronze coin of Gordian III., struck at Patara.

<sup>5</sup> ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΣΑΡΩΝ. Bellona fighting. Reverse of a bronze coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

water to the town. From this success he gained the surname of Isauricus; but he had no sooner re-entered Rome in triumph than "the sea-mice" re-appeared in every direction.<sup>1</sup>

The Senate at last decided to constitute a great maritime command, and gave it to Antonius the praetor, whose sister had lately been carried off by the pirates, from her villa near Misenum. The Island of Crete, in the centre of the Levant, had become, since the capture of Cilicia, the chief refuge of these freebooters, who shared with the inhabitants the profits of their expeditions; and, after having driven away these dangerous visitors from the Italian coasts, the praetor next turned his attention to Crete. An ill-directed attack resulted in disaster. The enemy captured several of his vessels: the officers were hung, and the sailors sold into slavery. Antonius made his escape, but survived his defeat only a few days, gaining from it the derisive appellation of *Creticus*.

COIN OF ICONIUM.<sup>2</sup>COIN OF CYDONIA.<sup>3</sup>

The Roman oligarchy accepted this affront without avenging it, save in words. They threatened from a distance, requiring the Cretans, if they desired peace, to give up four thousand talents, the prisoners, the deserters, and their three admirals

who had had the insolence to defeat Antonius.

The Cretans were not men to part with so much money without a severe struggle. In 68 Metellus, at the head of a considerable army, came to demand it. This little nation dared to meet him in the open country, and afterwards delayed him before each one of their cities, — Cydonia, Gnosus, and Gortyna. The proconsul spent two campaigns in reducing to a province this last asylum of Greek

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the reduction of the Cyrenaica into a province about the year 75 (see vol. ii. p. 517) was a measure concerted with the great expedition of Servilius against the pirates of Cilicia, to strengthen the Roman watch over the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> COL. AEL. ICONIE. S. R. (*Senatus Romanus*). A priest leading two oxen; behind them, two standards. Bronze of Gordian III., struck at Iconium.

<sup>3</sup> The Cretan Diana (Britomartis or Dietyanna). On the reverse the same goddess, as a huntress. She holds a lighted torch, and extends one hand towards her dog. Tetradrachm of Cydonia.

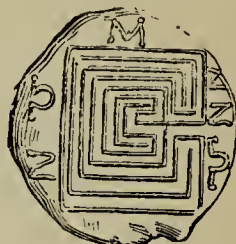


liberty, — a not very honorable liberty, it must be owned, protecting in Crete many more vices than virtues.

Metellus thus added a new surname to all those which his haughty race had already attained. But his expedition did not put an end to piracy; and it is not certain, that, at the very moment when he was sending off his laurel-wreathed despatches to Rome, some of the numerous creeks of the great island did not still shelter a considerable number of pirates.

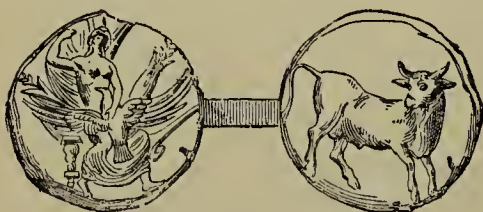
COIN OF GNOSUS.<sup>1</sup>

Isolated expeditions could not, in fact, destroy these Protean enemies. Driven from one point, they reappeared at another; and owing to the skill of their pilots and the lightness of their vessels,

COIN OF GNOSUS.<sup>2</sup>

they, like the Spanish *guerillero*, were able to laugh at their pursuers.

Meanwhile the grain-ships from Sicily and Sardinia no longer came in, and gratuitous distributions of corn were at an end. For a few sesterces, the people sold their votes: for five bushels of corn a month, they conferred the Empire. In the year 67 the tribune Gabinius proposed that one of the consuls should be invested for three years with absolute and irresponsible power, with command of

COIN OF GORTYNA.<sup>4</sup>

the sea and all the coasts of the Mediterranean for four hundred stadia inland.<sup>3</sup> This space included a great portion of the lands subject to Rome, the most important nations, and the most powerful kings. The nobles took alarm at this unheard-of

authority destined for Pompey, although Gabinius had not mentioned his name. They made an attempt to kill Gabinius,<sup>5</sup> and one of the tribune's colleagues opposed his veto. Such, however,

<sup>1</sup> The Minotaur on a tetradrachm of Gnosus.

<sup>2</sup> The Labyrinth. Reverse of a coin of Gnosus.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. Patereulus (ii. 31) says fifty miles, and Dion., three days' march.

<sup>4</sup> Europa holding an eagle, near the plane-tree where the divine bull had stopped. From that time, it was said, the sacred tree never lost its leaves. On the reverse the bull leaping. Tetradrachm of Gortyna. For the Cretan legends see Decharme's *La Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, ch. viii. p. 616, seq.

<sup>5</sup> Dion., xxxvi. 6, 20; Vell. Paterec., ii. 31.





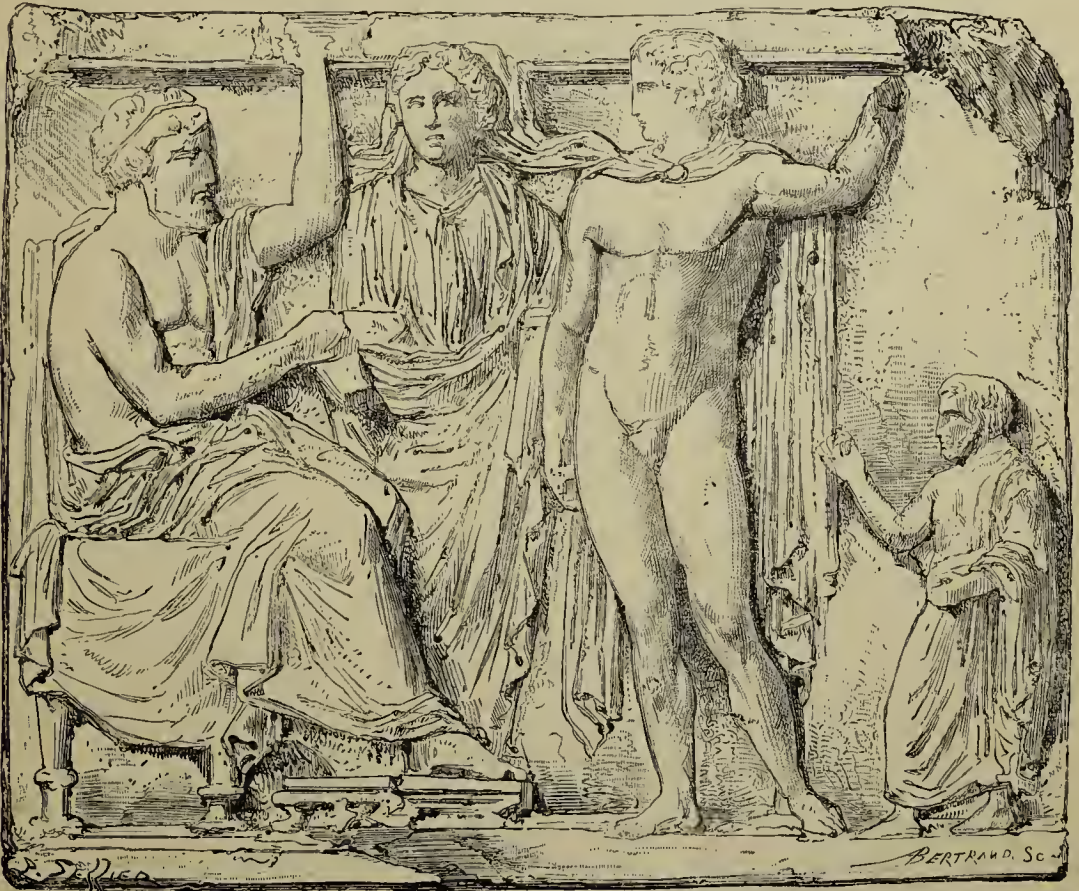
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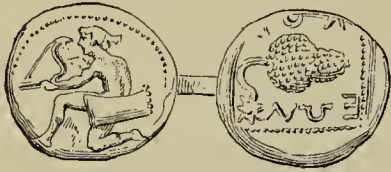
was their humiliation, that Catulus could find nothing better to say to the people than that they ought to economize so important a personage, and not expose incessantly so precious a life to the perils of war. "For if you lose him, whom have you to take his place?" — "Yourself," cried the populace; and Catulus was silent, after having counselled the senators to secure for themselves a retreat upon some Sacred Mount, where they could, like their

BAS-RELIEF AT GORTYNA.<sup>1</sup>

ancestors, defend their liberty. The people voted the forces that the decree assigned to the general, — five hundred galleys, a hundred and twenty thousand foot-soldiers, five thousand horse, and permission to draw from the treasury all the money he might require. One of the consuls, Piso, who still made some opposition, ventured to say to Pompey, "If you choose to emulate Romulus, you will end as he did." But the people were ready to tear Piso in pieces; and the tribune Trebellius narrowly escaped being deposed, on account of his veto. Pompey, however, had too great a respect

<sup>1</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 124. Three colossal divinities and a worshipper.

for forms to make any attack upon the consular and tribunitian dignity. A century earlier, Rome would not have deigned to send a consul against enemies so contemptible, and now the army, the treasury, and sovereign power were all intrusted to Pompey. The

COIN OF SOLI.<sup>2</sup>

people were hungry, and they cared little for their liberty.<sup>1</sup> Caesar, who liked precedents of monarchical authority, had actively supported the proposition.

At the news of this decree, the pirates abandoned the coasts of Italy; the price of food suddenly fell; and the people at once began to exclaim that the mere name of Pompey had brought the war to an end.<sup>3</sup> He chose for his lieutenants twenty-four senators who had already been generals of armies, divided the Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a squadron to each, and in forty days had swept the Tuscan and Balearic Seas. Neither could the terrified pirates offer any resistance in the eastern Mediterranean. They came in crowds to surrender themselves, with their wives and children, and with their vessels. Pompey employed them in the pursuit of their former accomplices. Those who had more courage, however, carried their treasures away to the seaports of Mount Taurus, and collected

COIN OF ADANA.<sup>4</sup>COIN OF EPIPHANIA.<sup>5</sup>

their vessels off the promontory Coracesium. Being defeated, and then besieged in an adjacent position where they had sought shelter, they gave up the islands and strongholds that yet remained to them. A hundred and twenty forts on the crests of the mountains from Caria, as far as Mount Amanus, were razed. Pompey burned thirteen hundred vessels, and destroyed all the dockyards; then, following the moderate policy he had pursued in Spain, instead of selling his prisoners, he established

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Pomp.* 26.

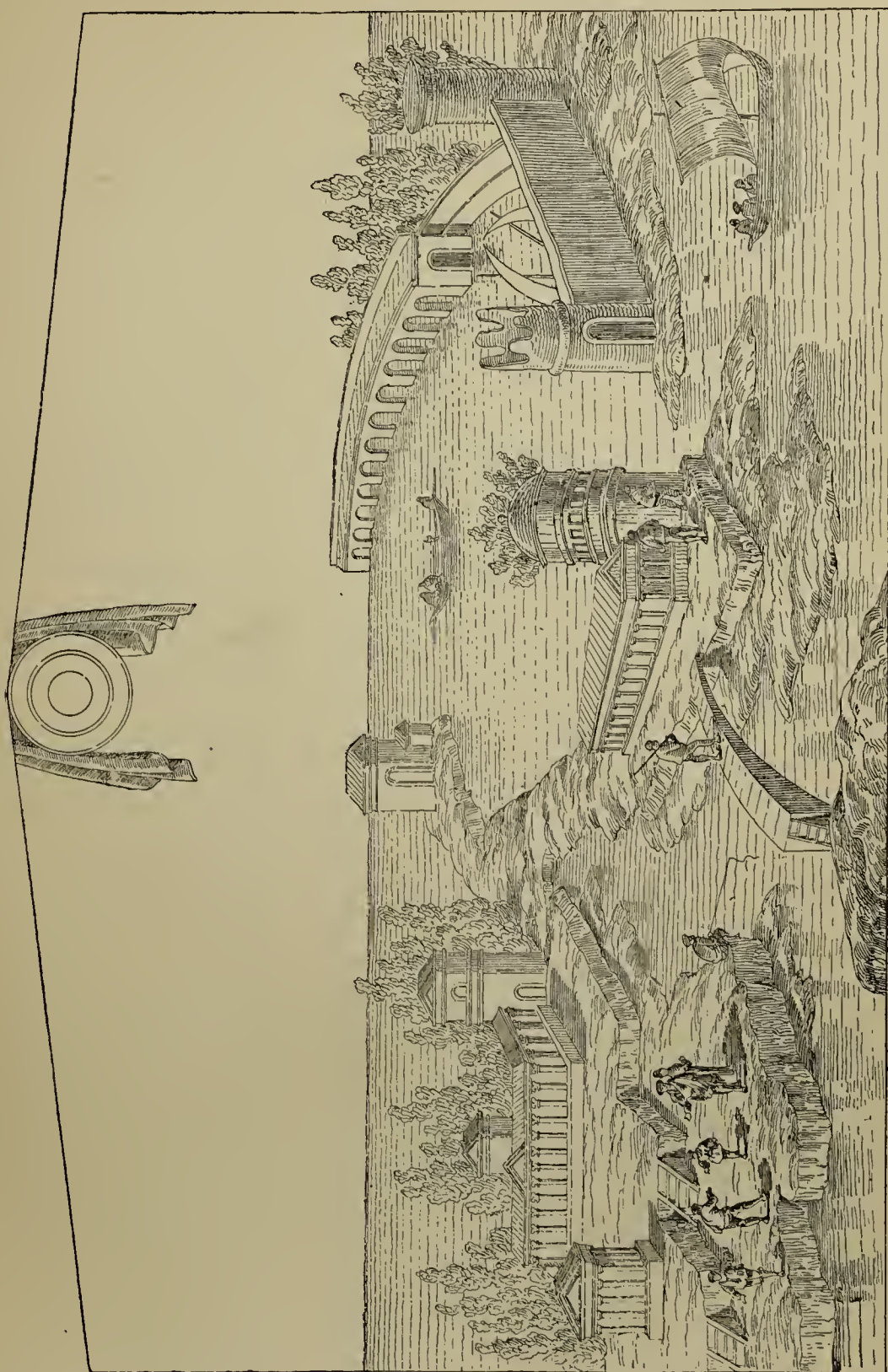
<sup>2</sup> Kneeling archer. On the reverse ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Bunch of grapes in a square. Silver coin of Soli.

<sup>3</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 18) calls him τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα.

<sup>4</sup> ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΣΑΝ ΕΥΜΑ. A Victory walking. Bronze coin of Adana.

<sup>5</sup> ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΕΤ(ΟΥΣ) SC. (year 206 of the era of Epiphania). Serapis seated; Cerberus before him. Reverse of a bronze coin, struck at Epiphania in Cilicia.





A PORT OR HARBOR.





them in the depopulated cities, Soli, Adana, Epiphania, and Malus, also at Dyme in Achaia, and even in Calabria. Vergil, when a child, saw near Tarentum one of these pirates who had spent a long life contentedly upon the land allotted to him by Pompey.<sup>1</sup> Ninety days had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, brought to a happy issue as much by the general's moderation as by the rapidity of his movements. The Romans had recovered the empire of the Mediterranean, and were able now to call it *mare nostrum*. Piracy, however, had disappeared for a time only: never, even under the Emperors, was Rome able completely to suppress it. During the expedition of Gabinus into Egypt, the Syrian coasts were pillaged by numbers of freebooters; and, even in our own time, the eastern Mediterranean, with its countless islands, promontories, and small sheltered ports, remained a last refuge of the Corsairs, whom Christian nations had driven from the remotest corners of the ocean.

Before the passage of the Gabinian law, Metellus, a relative of Pompey's former colleague in Spain, had been sent as praetor into Crete, with the especial duty of clearing the island of pirates. He had already destroyed some of their strongholds, and was besieging others, when the pirates appealed to Pompey, and tendered their submission to the newly-appointed general. The command of Metellus was really an independent one; but Pompey chose to regard him as a subordinate, and sent him orders to discontinue the war, even going so far as to despatch an officer to assist the pirates, when Metellus had refused to obey. "The course he took against Metellus in Crete," says Pompey's biographer, "was disapproved of even by the chiefest of his friends." A still more conspicuous act of injustice had the effect of exciting the displeasure of the nobles. He snatched from the hands of Lucullus the conquered Mithridates, that he might have the easy triumph of giving a death-blow to the Pontic king.

<sup>1</sup> *Georg.*, iv. 125-148.

NOTE.—The engraving (next page) is copied from a Pompeian picture (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. fifth series, pl. 28). A wharf with open arches, letting the waves pass through while breaking their violence, and detaining the sands which they bring with them: the piles formed a shelter sufficient for vessels. We have here, perhaps, a specimen of a little harbor on the Neapolitan coast, which, constantly beaten by the south-west wind, had need of constructions of this kind.

## CHAPTER L.

### LAST WARS AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

#### I. — VICTORIES OF LUCULLUS OVER THE KINGS OF PONTUS AND ARMENIA (74-66).

AFTER his interview with Sylla at Dardanus, Mithridates had returned to his own country, where, on every side, revolts were breaking out. The people of Colchis desired one of his sons for king. He granted the request, but soon after caused the young man to be seized, loaded with golden chains, and decapitated. In the Cimmerian Bosphorus the cities refused him obedience. He gathered, to chastise them, an army which was so numerous, that Murena, who had been left in Asia with the title of pro-praetor and the command of Fimbria's two legions, feigned to believe himself menaced (83). Murena also felt a desire for battle, a victory, a triumph; and his soldiers clamored for booty. He invaded Cappadocia, from which Mithridates had not yet withdrawn, and took the city of Comana, pillaging its famous temple.



JEWEL FROM THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.<sup>2</sup>



COIN OF COMANA.<sup>1</sup>

The king complained of this attack as an infraction of the treaty made

<sup>1</sup> The goddess of Comana (Bellona) leaning on her shield, and holding a club. It is possible that this piece belongs to the Pontic Comana. (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Gr. Cities*, p. 67.)

<sup>2</sup> Pendant (half size) found in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. xix.).





FOR THE WARS OF  
LUCULLUS AND POMPEY  
AGAINST  
MITHRIDATES

WESTERN ASIA

Roman Miles  
0 50 100 200 300



with Sylla; and the pro-praetor replied that, the treaty not having been written, — which was true, — he was not informed as to its provisions. He continued his advance, and entered Pontus; but he was defeated, and driven back across the Halys in disorder; and the Pontic army had already reached the frontier of the Roman province when an envoy of the dictator arrived, to arrest hostilities and restore all things to their previous condition (81).

Sylla had had enough of war and military fame: he wished to end with peace, and for this purpose avoided whatever might cause a disturbance in the East. The same year (81), a Ptolemy, Alexander II., had bequeathed to the Romans two kingdoms, Egypt and Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> The dictator contented himself with claiming the money deposited at Tyre by the dead prince, and allowed the two illegitimate sons of Ptolemy VIII. (Lathyros) to divide the inheritance.

Mithridates also had need of peace to re-establish his authority. For several years he appeared to be exclusively occupied with subjugating anew the Cimmerian Bosphorus (whose government he intrusted to his son Machares) and with the conquest of the barbarous tribes between Colchis and the Palus Maeotis. But, as soon as he received intelligence of Sylla's death, he at once incited Tigranes, the King of Armenia, to invade Cappadocia. This prince seized upon the Cappadocian capital, Mazaca, at the foot of Mount Argæus, and carried away three hundred thousand people from that kingdom to found his own new capital, Tigranocerta. The cession of Bithynia

MOUNT ARGÆUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *De Leg. agr.* ii. 16. He adds, however: *Dicitur contra, nullum esse testamentum.* At Rome, the right of bequest being absolute, the art of obtaining a will in one's favor became a very fashionable pursuit. The Senate did what the private individual did; and wills craftily obtained made Rome the heir of three kingdoms, — Pergamean Asia, Bithynia, and the Cyrenaica. Alexander II., King of Egypt, was persuaded likewise; but Sylla was unwilling to lay claim to an inheritance which he must needs have conquered. The matter was allowed to rest, but it was not forgotten, for in 63 the tribune Rullus included in his agrarian law the lands of the royal domain in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΕΤ Ρ (year 100 of the city's era). Mount Argæus above a temple: on the summit a statue, between a star and the crescent of the moon. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Mount Argæus, a volcanic mass, high enough to have perpetual snow (according to Strabo), and whence it was said the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus could be seen, furnished two things rare in Cappadocia, — wood and water. (See next page)



to the Roman Senate, made by Nicomedes III. when dying (74), decided Mithridates to enter the field himself. Moreover, the occasion seemed favorable. The best generals of Rome and nearly all her armies were occupied against Sertorius in Spain, or against the Dardanians and Thracians who were ravaging Macedon and all the eastern peninsula<sup>1</sup> with their predatory incursions. The sea was covered with pirates; and the Bithynians, whom the publicans had in a few months brought to a condition

MOUNT ARGÆUS.<sup>2</sup>

of revolt, were calling the king of Pontus to their aid. He at once began immense preparations. All the barbarous tribes from the Caucasus to Mount Haemus furnished him with auxiliaries; the Romans proscribed by Sylla drilled his troops; and we have related how Sertorius sent him officers.

Lucullus and M. Cotta were at this time consuls: the former

<sup>1</sup> Conquest of a part of Dalmatia, and capture of Salone after two years' siege by the proconsul G. Ceseonius (78-77); laborious campaigns of Appius Claudius, governor of Macedon (78-76), and of G. Scribonius (75-73), against the Thracians and Dardanians; successful expeditions of M. Lucullus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, against the people of Thraee, the Balkans, and the right bank of the Danube; and subjugation of the Greek cities on the shore of the Euxine (72-71).

<sup>2</sup> Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.* vol. ii. pl. 85.

aspired to the command of this war. Far from having spent, as has been asserted, his youth in pleasure and in study remote from public affairs, Lucullus had for more than ten years been constantly in harness. In 90 he served in the Social war; in 88 he preceded Sylla into Greece as pro-quaestor, and coined in the Peloponnesus, with great integrity, all the money required for the payment of the army during the Pontic war.<sup>1</sup> This general had not the vessels which he needed to dispute the sea with the enemy's forces; and, in the midst of countless dangers, Lucullus visited Crete and Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, and Cnidos, passing through the pirate and the Pontic fleets of the eastern Mediterranean, in quest of vessels for the Roman service. He was successful, and also made an important diversion by encouraging the Greek cities of Asia in their revolt against Mithridates. At Chios and Colophon he aided the inhabitants to drive out their garrisons; and although later he allowed Mithridates, who was surrounded in Pitane, to make his escape, that he might not give Fimbria the honor of ending the war, he twice defeated the king's fleets, and opened to Sylla the road to Asia.<sup>4</sup> He used the greatest moderation in apportioning

COIN OF RHODES.<sup>3</sup>COIN OF COS.<sup>5</sup>

the war-tax of twenty thousand talents. Many cities, however, still resisted, and in two engagements he dispersed the people of Mitylene and Elaea, not returning to Rome until the close of the year 80, just late enough to escape all complicity in the proscriptions. The dictator received him with the greatest favor. Their tastes had much in common: both delighted to unite intellectual gratifications

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Lucull.* 2. When Sylla had exacted from Asia a tax of twenty thousand talents, he again employed Lucullus in its coinage (*Ibid.* 4). On the Lucullan coinage, and in general, upon Roman coins struck in the provinces by the generals in virtue of their *imperium*, see Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> From the work of Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Rhodes with head of Bacchus surrounded by rays, like the head of the sun given p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Lucull.* 3 and 4; Appian, *Mithrid.* 52, 53.

<sup>5</sup> ΠΙΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Hippocrates seated. Bronze coin of Cos.



with the refinements of luxury; and Sylla left to Lucullus both the guardianship of his son and the duty of revising, before giving them to the world, the Commentaries which he had written in

Greek. Praetor in 77, and consul in 74, Lucullus, through respect for the memory of Sylla, as much as through zeal for the aristocratic party, resisted the efforts of the tribune Quinctius, and ended, perhaps, by buying him over.<sup>1</sup>

Gallia Cisalpina had fallen by lot to Lucullus as consular province, while his colleague had received Bithynia. But, the proconsul of Cilicia dying at this time, Lucullus asked and obtained his province. This army, a little less than thirty-two thousand men, was composed of raw recruits and of Fimbria's veterans, who had been twice rebels,<sup>2</sup>



CAPTIVE BITHYNIA.<sup>3</sup>

and were habituated to extreme license. Like Scipio and Paulus Aemilius, he began with drilling his troops in order to restore discipline, and was marching upon Pontus when he learned that Mithridates, having persuaded the republic of Heracleia to unite with him, had invaded Bithynia with a hundred thousand foot, six

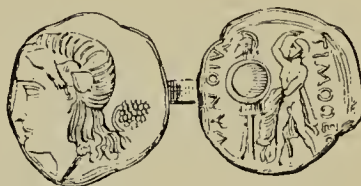
<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Hist. fragm.*; Ascon. in Cic., *In Caecilium*, 3; Plut., *Lucull.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> They had mutinied against the proconsul Val. Flaccus, and had abandoned Fimbria.

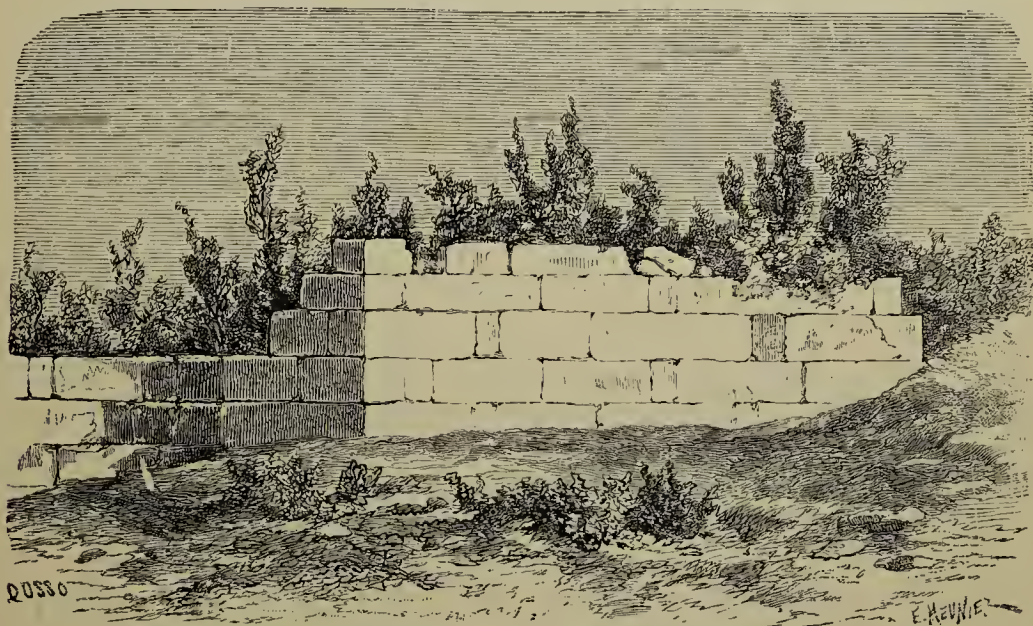
<sup>3</sup> Statue in the Blundell Collection (Clàrac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 768A, No. 1906A).



thousand horse, and a hundred scythe-armed chariots, while a fleet of four hundred sail, keeping along the coast, would co-operate with the land-forces. Lucullus was further informed that all the publicans had been massacred by the inhabitants; and that Cotta, who had been in haste to fight, in the hope of securing to himself alone the honor of victory, had just suffered two defeats in the same day,—one by land, the other by sea,—and was now closely blockaded in Chalcedon. The officers of Lucullus urged him to throw himself upon Cappadocia and Pontus, now left defenceless. “I had rather,” said the general, “save one citizen from the enemy than make easy conquest of spoils: besides, it would be



COIN OF HERACLEIA IN BITHYNIA.<sup>1</sup>



CYZICUS; REMAINS OF WALLS (PERROT, EXPL. DE LA GALATIE).

leaving the object of the chase, and going to the empty lair.” And he marched to the relief of the besieged. But, at sight of the immense number of the king’s troops, he deemed it prudent not to engage in a general action, and posted himself where he could cut off the supplies.

In ancient times, even more than at present, to provision a large army was an extremely difficult problem. The Romans had made

<sup>1</sup> Head of Bacchus, with a bunch of grapes behind it. On the reverse TIMOΘEOY ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ; Hercules erecting a trophy. Silver coin of Timotheos and Dionysios, kings of Heracleia in Bithynia.

considerable progress towards its solution: the Barbarians were not accustomed to make it at all a subject of forethought. The Roman general's plan of the campaign was simply this,—to keep his own little army in provisions, and to prevent the king's forces from obtaining supplies.

In the mountainous peninsula on which Chalcedon is situated, Mithridates soon found himself destitute of food. To obtain it, he extended his lines to the westward into Mysia, and made an attempt to surprise Cyzicus. Lucullus followed him, and, encamping in a favorable position in the rear of the royal army, blocked



COIN OF DEJOTARUS.<sup>1</sup>

the roads, and waited for famine to give him the advantage over this multitude. The city was strong, and devoted to the Romans; and a few troops thrown in by Lucullus, together with the sight of his camp visible from the walls, sustained the courage of the inhabitants. The season was also in their favor. It was winter; and a violent tem-

pest destroyed in a day all the king's works. After eating everything that their camp could furnish, even to the dead bodies of their prisoners, the besieging force was decimated by pestilence and famine. A large detachment sent out by Mithridates to obtain food was surprised at the passage of the Rhyndacus, and lost fifteen thousand men.<sup>2</sup> One of his lieutenants, Eumachos, who had been sent to cut off the Roman communications, was also defeated in Phrygia by the Galatian prince Dejotarus. Between the immovable camp and the impregnable city, Mithridates saw his vast army melting away while he could not bring it into action, and he decided to escape with his fleet, leaving the land-forces to extricate themselves as best they could. The army retreated towards the Aesepus and the Granicus; but these rivers, swollen by the rains, arrested their flight. The Romans came up with them, and destroyed the larger number, and the rest escaped to Lampsacus.



COIN OF SINOPE.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ (of the King Dejotarus). An eagle between two caps of the Dioseuri. Bronze coin of Dejotarus, King of Galatia.

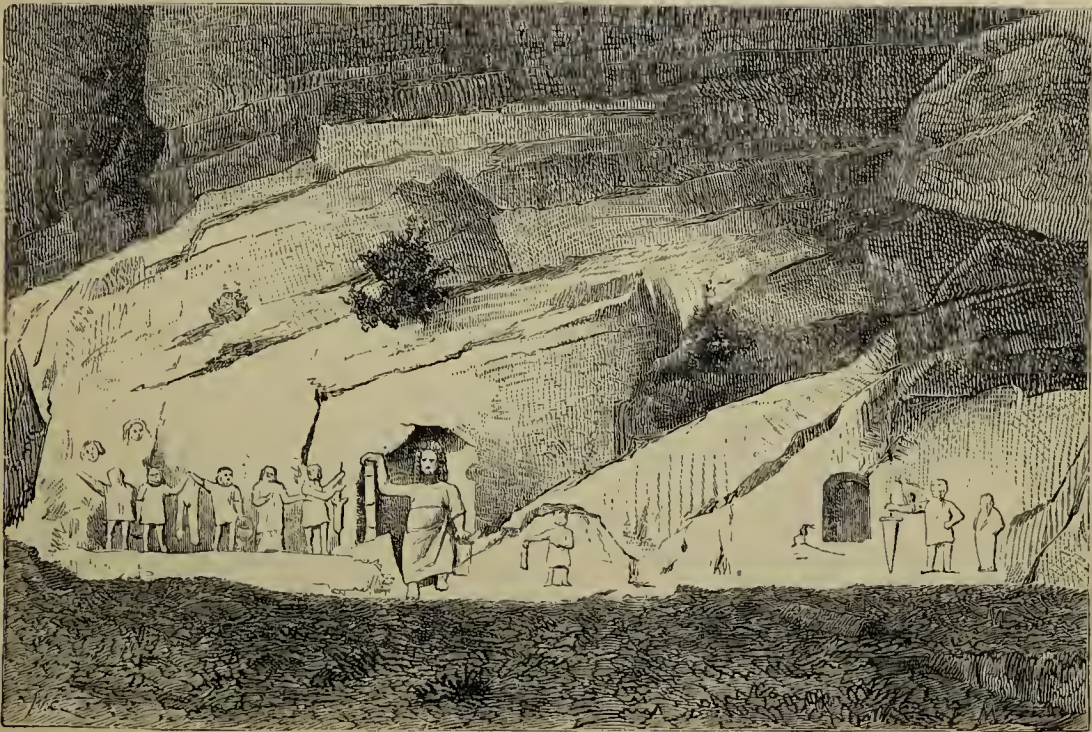
<sup>2</sup> In speaking of this engagement, Sallust said in his great History, now lost, that there, for the first time, camels were seen by the Romans. Plutarch answers him (*Lucullus*, 11), that they had been seen a century before this, at the battle of Magnesia.

<sup>3</sup> ΣΙΝΩ (πέων) ΘΕΟΤ. Eagle upon a fish. Silver coin of Sinope.



A few of the royal vessels were yet cruising in the Propontis and on the coast of the Troad: Lucullus armed galleys, pursued and sunk them. In one of these encounters he captured Varius, the agent of Sertorius, and put him to an ignominious death (73). The captives were so numerous, that in one of the Roman camps a slave could be bought for four drachmae.

Meanwhile Mithridates was fleeing towards the Euxine. An officer whom the proconsul had sent to close the Thracian Bosphorus wasted the time in festivities and in obtaining initiation



GALATIA (HASSAN-ÖCHLÂN).<sup>1</sup>

into the Samothracian mysteries. When the king arrived at the entrance of the strait, the passage was unguarded; but his vessels were destroyed by storms, and it was on board a pirate ship that he finally reached Pontic Heracleia. Thence he made his way to Sinope and Amisus, and sent to his son Machares, and Tigranes his son-in-law, entreating them to furnish him assistance promptly. Diocles, whom he sent with great sums of money to the Scythians, went over to the Romans instead.

Lucullus, leaving Cotta to subjugate those Bithynian cities

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief sculptured on a rock (a king upon his throne) (Perrot, *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc., pl. xii.).



which still held out, crossed the Halys, the principal river of Asia Minor, and penetrated into Pontus: thirty thousand Galatians followed him, bearing provisions for his army. With the design of drawing the king into a battle before the arrival of the expected re-enforcements, the proconsul ravaged the country and remained for a long time, notwithstanding the murmurs of his troops, besieging Amisus (73-72). In the spring, on hearing that Mithridates had collected forty-four thousand men at Cabira, near the headwaters of the Halys, in the mountains which separate Pontus from Armenia, Lucullus went in search of him with three legions. A traitor revealed to him the paths leading to the royal camp; but the Pontic cavalry at first repulsed the Roman attack, and Lucullus narrowly escaped being assassinated by a Scythian chief who had come over to the Romans as a deserter. When, however, he had examined the position, he resumed the tactics which had so well served him before Cyzicus, and by a great number of small combats hemmed in and starved his enemy. Mithridates was already meditating a retreat when a panic seized his troops; and the king only made his escape by scattering his treasures along the way, thus arresting the pursuit.

Before crossing the frontier of Armenia, where he hoped to find shelter with Tigranes, the despot remembered that he had left his sisters and his wives behind him, and he sent one of his eunuchs to them to bear them the order of death. Of his two sisters, one took the offered poison, cursing her brother; but the other commended him, that in his own danger he had been mindful to save them from disgrace. His favorite wife, that beautiful Monima who fifteen years before had exchanged the freedom and elegance of Greek life for the servitude of the harem, sought to strangle herself with the string of the diadem she wore upon her head; but it was not strong enough, and broke, upon which she trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "O wretched diadem that will not help me even in this small matter!" and fell upon the eunuch's sword.

After the victory of Cabira, Lucullus advanced almost to Colchis; but some places still held out behind him, among others Amisus, defended by the engineer Callimachus, and Heracleia, which detained the proconsul Cotta for two years. Those Greek

cities, surrounded as they were by Barbarians, were fortified with a skill over which the military science of the time could not triumph, and, the sea remaining open to them, they had no fear of famine. When, however, they saw no hope of succor, they surrendered. After regulating the affairs of Pontus, and negotiating with Machares, who was not ashamed to send a golden wreath to the conqueror of his father, Lucullus returned to pass the winter at Ephesus.



BRIDGE OF THOCK-GEUZA, ON THE HALYS.<sup>1</sup>

The province had need of his presence, devoured, as it was by publicans and usurers. It had not yet been able to complete the payment of the war-tax imposed by Sylla, or rather it had already paid it six times over by the accumulation of interest and the exactions of the revenue-farmers. The desolation was widespread: accordingly, when Lucullus had fixed the legal rate of interest at one per cent a month, had forbidden the exaction of compound interest, and had permitted the creditor to convert to his own use not more than one-fourth of the debtor's income, the blessings of the people prevented him from hearing the angry

<sup>1</sup> The date of construction of this bridge, on the main road from Cappadocia to Pontus, is at present unknown. The illustration is from Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 84.



murmurs of the publicans. We shall see that he soon paid dearly for this wise and generous conduct.

Some months earlier he had sent his brother-in-law, Appius Clodius,<sup>1</sup> to claim from Tigranes the extradition of Mithridates. Tigranes, master of Armenia, conqueror of the Parthians (whom he had driven back into the depths of Asia), and victorious in Syria, whence the Seleucidae had disgracefully disappeared, was at this time the most powerful monarch of the East. He held all the military and commercial roads of Anterior Asia: by Media Atropatene and the upper valleys of Euphrates and Tigris, commanding



TIGRANES, KING OF ARMENIA.<sup>2</sup>

the southern roads, and by Syria, eastern Cilicia, and a part of Cappadocia, those of the west. Whichever side he raised his war-cry, he was able to hurl down from the Armenian plateau countless hosts which nothing seemed able to resist. A crowd of famous chiefs lived at his court as slaves: when he went out, four kings ran before his chariot. He had compelled the Parthians to allow him to take the title of "King of kings," or suzerain of all the Asiatic princes. In the time of his prosperity, Mithridates had not recognized this sovereign power, and hence had obtained from Tigranes little assistance in the last wars against Rome, and had been coldly received when he came to seek shelter in Armenia. The embassy of Clodius changed completely the intentions of Tigranes. The Roman had been obliged to go into Syria, where the king was at the time, and he had been detained at Antioch under pretext that Tigranes was completing the subjugation of Phoenicia. After the custom of Eastern courts, this delay had been intentional, with the design of giving the ambassador a profound sense of the power of the Armenian monarch, and at the same time of manifesting the indifference of the "King of kings" towards Rome. Clodius had, however, taken advantage of the delay to form intrigues with the chiefs and cities of this region; and the King of Gordyene promised him to take

<sup>1</sup> This man was a member of the gens *Claudia*; but the name is habitually written *Clodius*. Other members of this family also wrote the name in the same way. (Orelli, 579.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Tigranes, King of Armenia, wearing the tiara. From a tetradrachm. This coin, probably struck in Syria, bears on the reverse a Greek inscription.



the field as soon as Lucullus should appear, — a promise which afterwards caused the murder of the whole of that royal race. When the interview finally took place, Clodius declared briefly that he had come either to obtain Mithridates or to declare war. Tigranes had never before heard language so direct and haughty. He replied that he accepted war; and summoning Mithridates, who had not hitherto been admitted to his presence, he promised him ten thousand men as an escort to his kingdom, whilst he himself should put all his forces upon a war-footing. He thus repeated the error which had ruined Philip and Antiochus. While his father-in-law was fighting to drive out the Romans from Asia, instead of supporting him, Tigranes had set off on an expedition against Phoenicia. Now that Mithridates was a fugitive, Tigranes was ready to enter the lists (70).

Lucullus was not at all alarmed at this struggle which he had brought on. He left six thousand men to defend Pontus, and took with him only three thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, — old soldiers of the Fimbrian legions, who reluctantly followed a general always the protector of the native populations against rapacity (69). He made his way towards the provinces of the Euphrates, recently conquered by Tigranes, where the people, many of whom were Greeks, with horror found themselves subjected to a prince who required servile obedience. The understanding which Clodius had established with many of the inhabitants of this region was useful to Lucullus, who crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris unmolested, causing his troops everywhere to observe the strictest discipline. Tigranes could not believe in such audacity; and the first messenger who told him the approach of the legions atoned for the information with his life. However, the king was compelled to admit that the enemy were no longer in Ephesus, as the courtiers had constantly declared; and he gave orders that troops should be sent to chastise these insolent invaders, and bring him their leader, dead or alive. The advance-guard of the legions was able to disperse this first force sent against them. The king, at last becoming uneasy, fled in all haste from his capital, and withdrew into the mountains lying between the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he gathered around his standard his own soldiers and those of all his allies, from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

When he had thus collected about him more than two hundred

and fifty thousand men, and received intelligence that Lucullus was besieging the Armenian capital with an army which seemed to the king a mere escort, he scorned the advice of Mithridates to starve out his adversary, and hastened to give him battle. So soon as the army of Tigranes appeared, crowning the heights whence Tigrano-

LUCULLUS.<sup>1</sup>

certa is visible, Lucullus, leaving under command of Murena six thousand auxiliaries to prevent a sortie from the town, advanced, with eleven thousand legionaries and some cavalry, to meet the king. "If they come as envoys," said Tigranes, "they are numerous; if as enemies, they are very few." The Roman general, who manifested in this war as much boldness as he had shown prudence

<sup>1</sup> Bust, said to be of Lucullus, in the Museum of the Hermitage. In the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, new series, vol. viii. Nos. 1 and 2, E. Schultze has maintained the authenticity of this bust.

and moderation in his campaigns against the King of Pontus, began the attack by scaling with two cohorts a hill which Tigranes had neglected to secure. Thence the Romans rushed down upon the seventeen thousand horsemen, cuirassed in steel, drawn up to meet them; but the latter, not daring to await the shock, fell back upon their own infantry, and brought confusion into the entire army. Tigranes was the first to flee: his tiara and diadem fell into the hands of the enemy. Lucullus asserted that he had only five men killed and a hundred wounded, and estimated the Barbarian losses at a hundred thousand (Oct. 6, 69). A revolt of the Greek inhabitants in Tigranocerta facilitated an assault upon the town, and the legionaries found in it, not to speak of other booty, eight thousand talents of coined gold, and received from their general eight hundred drachmae apiece. Never was an easy victory more richly rewarded.<sup>1</sup>

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, accepting the alliance of all the neighboring princes, and soliciting that of Phraates, King of the Parthians. This prince was seeking to recover Mesopotamia from Tigranes, and had many humiliations of his house to avenge upon the Armenians; but, on the other hand, Tigranes made it clear to him that all the thrones of the East were alike menaced by the victories of the legions. A Roman deputy found him undecided between the two parties. Lucullus would not permit this neutrality, and ordered his lieutenants in Pontus to bring him their forces. He had such a contempt for these kings, that he felt no hesitation about going forward into the heart of Asia, and attacking a third empire. But his officers and soldiers, who had become too rich to be willing to incur further dangers, refused to follow him, and he was obliged to content himself with only completing the defeat of Tigranes. The army of the Armenian king, reconstructed by Mithridates, and composed only of the best troops, had lately re-appeared in the neighborhood of Lucullus, refusing to fight, and seeking to intercept his supplies. In order to bring on an action, Lucullus marched upon Artaxata, the real capital of

PHRAATES III.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Tigranocerta have been sought at Sert upon the Chabûr, at Mejafarkin, and at Amid or Amadiâh. Cf. S. Martin, *Mem. sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 173; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, vol. x. p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> From a silver coin of this prince, who was also called Arsaces XII., and surnamed Theos.



Armenia,<sup>1</sup> where were the wives and children and the treasures of the king. Upon this, Tigranes followed him, and, to save his second capital, gave battle. The result was the same as in the preceding year (68).

Artaxata, said to have been built by Hannibal, stood on the shores of the Araxes, to the north-east of Mount Ararat, — a lofty mountain, whose peak, fifteen thousand feet high, is covered with perpetual snow. When the winds which sweep these icy summits reach the valleys below, they bring with them a sudden winter. Unexpected cold and deep snow arrested the Roman army in their pursuit. The soldiers refused to remain in this rigorous climate; and Lucullus, abandoning the siege of Artaxata, retreated towards the south into Mygdonia, and took by assault Nisibis (67). This was the limit of his successes.

He had not understood the art, which Scipio and Sylla practised, of softening by affable manners the rigor of his authority; and his soldiers could not forgive him for keeping them eight years constantly in camp, and having at their expense spared the cities with which he had made terms, instead of taking them by violence, which would have authorized their subsequent pillage. His brother-in-law Clodius, a young noble, full of criminal audacity, encouraged the soldiers by seditious language. They were only the muleteers of Lucullus, he said, serving to escort his treasures; and while he, for his own advantage, pillaged the palaces of Tigranes, they were forced to spare those whom the rights of victory gave into their hands. At Rome, Lucullus had other enemies, the publicans, — those harpies devouring the substance of the nations, — who by his regulations had been arrested in their career of rapine. Since he had been in command in Asia, the province had rallied: in four years all the debts and mortgages had been paid off. But he forgot both Rutilius and that permanent conspiracy of which Cicero speaks, formed by the knights against those who repressed their avidity. Once more enjoying supreme power through Pompey's measures, they made haste to be revenged upon the man who was compelling them to justice and moderation. While the army of Lucullus held its general in forced inaction, the publicans, sup-

<sup>1</sup> Ruins called Takt-Tiridates, the throne of Tiridates, near the meeting of the Aras and the Zengue, are regarded as marking the site of Artaxata.

ported by the ex-tribune Quinctius, at that time praetor, took from him his command, and caused a decree to be passed, disbanding a portion of his army (67).<sup>1</sup>

## II. — POMPEY SUCCEEDS LUCULLUS IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF ASIA (66).

MITHRIDATES and Tigranes, profiting by these misunderstandings, returned into their kingdoms: the King of Pontus even defeated a lieutenant, killing seven thousand men, a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes (67). Another lieutenant would have had the same fate, had not Mithridates been wounded in the combat by a deserter. The arrival of Lucullus, who had at last succeeded in making his soldiers ashamed of abandoning their comrades, drove back the king into Lesser Armenia; but they would not follow him thither. In vain did their general condescend to entreat them: more powerful than he in his own camp, they bade him go alone and seek the enemy, if he wanted to fight, and finally agreed to remain under his command until the end of summer, only on condition of not being required to take the field.

Meanwhile the two kings had again assumed the offensive. Cappadocia was invaded, the Romans driven out of Pontus, a pro-consul, Glabrio, put to flight, and pursued as far as Bithynia. When the Senate's commissioners arrived for the purpose of organizing the new conquests into provinces, it seemed necessary for everything to be done anew. In reality, by the carelessness of the government,—which during eight years had neglected those who were fighting its battles in distant parts of the Empire,—the most brilliant campaigns that a Roman general had ever yet conducted, the most wonderful victories the legions had as yet won, were rendered useless, and in the spring of 66 the situation was as difficult as it had been in 74. Only, the real value of these Asiatic hordes was better understood, and the certainty recognized,

<sup>1</sup> [Thus ended one of the most brilliant campaigns ever conducted by a Roman general, and one which places Lucullus in the highest rank for ability and resource. This sort of energetic and cultivated sybarite, who bears a certain family likeness to Sylla and to Caesar, is only produced by a luxurious and long dominant aristocracy. — *Ed.*]

that these wars could be brought to an end whenever the task was resolutely undertaken.<sup>1</sup>

Pompey, who had just brought his campaign against the pirates to an end, was now in Cilicia, at the head of a considerable force. For a long time his friends at Rome had intended him to have command of this war. The tribune Manilius formally proposed to send him against Tigranes and Mithridates with unlimited power over the army, the fleet, and the Asiatic provinces. The Senate rejected this bill, perpetuating the regal authority of a deserter from the party of nobles; but the stubbornness of the people and the knights foreboded a fresh defeat if they persisted: they chose rather to renounce the right that Sylla had granted them, of preliminary examination of legislative measures. Catulus alone protested at length against the measure, and, when he saw that the people merely listened without being impressed, he exclaimed, turning towards the senators, "Since it is so, it is now your turn to seek some Tarpeian rock or Sacred Mount whither you can flee, and retain your liberty." Till lately the dictatorship had come from the nobility; now it came from the people,—an obvious indication that both sides were prepared for servitude. The measure, supported by Cæsar and by Cicero, who delivered on this occasion his first public address, passed without opposition. Manilius had taken care before the voting to distribute the freedmen amongst the thirty-five tribes. Sylla's former lieutenant went even so far as to seek a support which the Gracchi would have scorned.

On receiving the news, Pompey hypocritically railed against fortune, which had overwhelmed him with labor, and denied him

the peaceful existence of an obscure citizen. His actions soon belied his words: he hastened to appear in his new command, multiplying edicts, calling to him all the troops and allies, and taking care to humiliate Lucullus by rescinding all his acts. The two generals met in Galatia.



LUCULLUS TRIUMPHANT.

The interview commenced with the customary compliments, but

<sup>1</sup> [Yet this was perhaps what misled Crassus, and caused his defeat and death in the Parthian war twenty years later.—*Ed.*]



ended with mutual insults. "Like the dull and cowardly bird of prey, which tracks the hunter by the scent of the carnage, Pompey," said Lucullus, "comes down upon the carcasses slain by others, and reaps the reward of their labors." Mutual friends separated them (66). When Lucullus set out for Italy, his rival permitted him to take home only sixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even that honor itself Pompey succeeded in postponing for three years.



TEMPLE OF MERCURY ON THE BAY OF NAPLES.<sup>1</sup>

Exasperated at the injustice of the people and the weakness of the Senate which had abandoned him, Lucullus withdrew from a government whose inevitable downfall he doubtless foresaw, and retired to the enjoyment of the immense wealth he had brought from the spoils of Asia. His luxury and display earned for him the surname of the "Roman Xerxes."<sup>2</sup> His gardens, says Plutarch,

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et Sicile*, vol. i. part. ii. p. 212 (Paris, 1782).

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 23. See in Plutarch (*Lucull.* 39-41) the oft-repeated anecdotes respecting his suppers, his buildings, his fish-ponds, of which Varro also speaks.

are still considered to be among the most beautiful in the imperial domain. He had constructed near Naples enormous subterranean canals, through which the sea flowed so as to form a reservoir for fish. At Tusculum his palaces were greatly admired, fitted up as summer and winter residences, with their large saloons, broad terraces, and delightful views. Each apartment had its peculiar furniture and special attendance. Cicero and a friend, wishing one day to take him by surprise, asked for an invitation to dinner, on condition that he would make no special preparation. He merely said to his servant, "We will sup in the Hall of Apollo;" and his two guests were served with a most sumptuous feast, since in this hall the cost was never to be less than fifty thousand drachmae. The enlightened support which he gave to literature claims indulgence for this extravagance and luxury, which in the midst of so much corruption was no longer a danger to the State.<sup>1</sup>

Lucullus had received only a small army and a few ships. Pompey had sixty thousand men and an enormous fleet, with which he encircled the whole of Asia Minor from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus. Mithridates, still at the head of thirty-two thousand men, but weary of this incessant struggle, asked the new general on what terms peace would be granted to him. "Trust yourself to the generosity of the Roman people," the proconsul replied. Mithridates had too much courage to end like Perseus, after fighting like Hannibal. "Be it so!" said he; "we will fight to the last!" and swore never to make peace with Rome. Pompey had already marched as far as Lesser Armenia. In the first encounter, — a night engagement on the banks of the Lycus, — the Pontic army was destroyed, and Mithridates escaped with only two horsemen and one of his wives, who, attired as a man, followed him everywhere, and fought by his side. Arriving at one of his strongholds, he distributed to those who were with him all his money and also some poison, that each might remain master of his liberty and life. Having taken these precautions, he made an attempt to take refuge with Tigranes, but that prince had put a price upon his head: he therefore went back towards the source of the Euphrates,

<sup>1</sup> He collected a valuable library, which he opened to the public; and he was constantly surrounded by men of letters (Plut., *Lucull.* 59). Lucullus died some time before the breaking-out of the next Civil war.



and reached Colchis, where he wintered. Upon the field of battle Pompey founded Nicopolis, the city of victory.

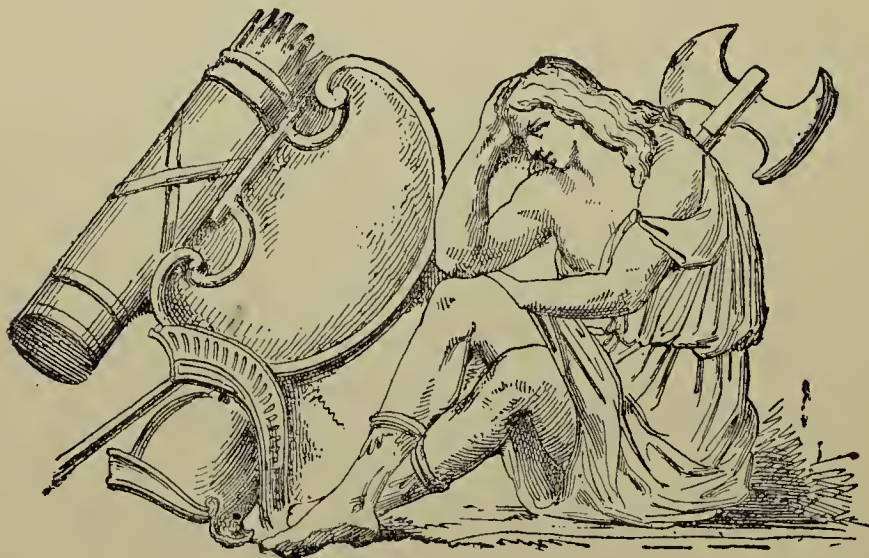
In the despotic courts of the East the prince is neither a husband nor a father. Tigranes, rendered suspicious and cruel through his reverses, had put to death two of his sons: the third revolted, perhaps at the instigation of Mithridates, and sought shelter among the Parthians. Phraates had at last understood that it was time for him to decide to share in despoiling his neighbor, and had just concluded a treaty of alliance with Pompey. The young Tigranes afforded him the opportunity of making a useful diversion: Phraates gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and took him back with an army into his father's kingdom. The old king withdrew at first to the mountains, leaving the two princes to waste their time and strength before the walls of Artaxata. Phraates was the first to tire: he returned to his country, fearing lest too prolonged an absence should excite disturbances. The young Tigranes was conquered by his father, and compelled to take shelter in the Roman camp. Pompey set out for Artaxata, and had not proceeded more than fifteen miles when the envoys of Tigranes met him, and shortly the king himself appeared. At the entrance to the camp a licitor made Tigranes dismount: as soon as he saw Pompey, the king took off his diadem, and made an attempt to prostrate himself before the Roman general. Pompey prevented him, made Tigranes sit beside him, and offered him peace, on condition that he should renounce Syria and Asia Minor, should pay six thousand talents, and should recognize his son as king in Sophene; thus following once more the Senate's old policy. Tigranes, enfeebled, but not subdued, was not powerful enough to be formidable, but sufficiently so to hold in check the King of Parthia, whose conduct had for a long time been equivocal. This new vassal was then to do police-duty for Rome in Upper Asia, as in former times Eumenes had done in Asia Minor, *reges . . . vetus servitutis instrumentum*.

Tigranes had expected greater severity: in his joy he promised the Roman troops a bounty of fifty drachmae per man, a thousand apiece for the centurions, and a talent for the tribunes. But his son, who had hoped to obtain the crown, could not conceal his disappointment. Secret intrigues of the young prince with the



Parthians and with certain Armenian nobles having been discovered, Pompey, in defiance of the law of nations, and although the offender was his guest, loaded him with chains, and reserved him for his triumph.

Some troops were left in Armenia to watch over the movements of the Parthians, who had just reminded Pompey that the boundary of the two empires was to be the Euphrates. With the remainder of the army divided into three corps, Pompey wintered on the southern bank of the Cyrus. He intended going in the spring to search for Mithridates as far as the Caucasus, that he might boast at Rome of having borne the eagles from



SCYTHIAN AMAZON.<sup>1</sup>

the depths of Spain and Africa to the last confines of the habitable world, even to the rocks upon which Jupiter had bound Prometheus.<sup>2</sup>

North of the river Cyrus lies the country of Albania. In the middle of December forty thousand men crossed the river in the hope of surprising the three Roman camps: they were everywhere repulsed, and Pompey himself crossed the Cyrus on the return of the open weather (65), traversed Albania, and penetrated among the Iberians, — a people whom neither the Persians nor Alexander had subdued. Plutarch relates that there were Amazons fighting as auxiliaries with these Barbarians, although he is forced to own

<sup>1</sup> From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Mithrid.* 103. Pompey, accompanied by the Greek Theophanes, sought in good faith for the rock where Aeschylus lays the scene of his tragedy.

that none of them were found among the dead on the field of battle. In reaching the Caucasus, Pompey had left behind him the historic lands of the Roman Republic, and entered upon the regions of fable.

Having conquered these tribes, he came round to the Phasis, where one of his lieutenants met him with the fleet; but from this point he was suddenly recalled by a revolt of the Albanians. He subdued them, and then sought to push forward as far as the Caspian Sea; but a lack of guides, the difficulties of the country,



COIN OF ALEXANDER JANNAEUS.<sup>1</sup>

COIN OF PTOLEMAIS.<sup>2</sup>

COIN OF ASCALON.<sup>3</sup>

and the news of an attempt of the Parthians upon Gordyene, brought him back into Armenia: he made no stay here, but went as far as Amisus, where, during the winter, he held his court with all the barbaric splendor of an Oriental potentate. Surrounded by Asiatic chiefs and ambassadors from all the kings, he distributed commands and provinces, granted or denied the alliance of Rome, treated with the Medes and the Elymaeans, who were rivals of Parthia, and refused to Phraates the title of "King of kings." Mithridates, driven back into wild regions whither it seemed impossible to pursue him, was for the moment forgotten; and the successful proconsul, not very desirous of risking his fame in an inglorious war against the Barbarians of the northern shores of the Euxine, was already dreaming of other and easier victories. He had almost reached the Caucasus and the Caspian: it was now his wish to go to the Red Sea and the



ANTIOCHUS XIII.  
ASIATICUS.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jehonathan Hammelek (in Samaritan), within the spokes of an eight-rayed wheel. On the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ around an anchor. Bronze coin of Alexander Jannaeus.

<sup>2</sup> COL(onia) PTOL(emais), turret-crowned woman (the city of Ptolemais) seated on rocks, holding ears of corn; at her feet a flowing river. Bronze coin of Ptolemais, struck under Hadrian.

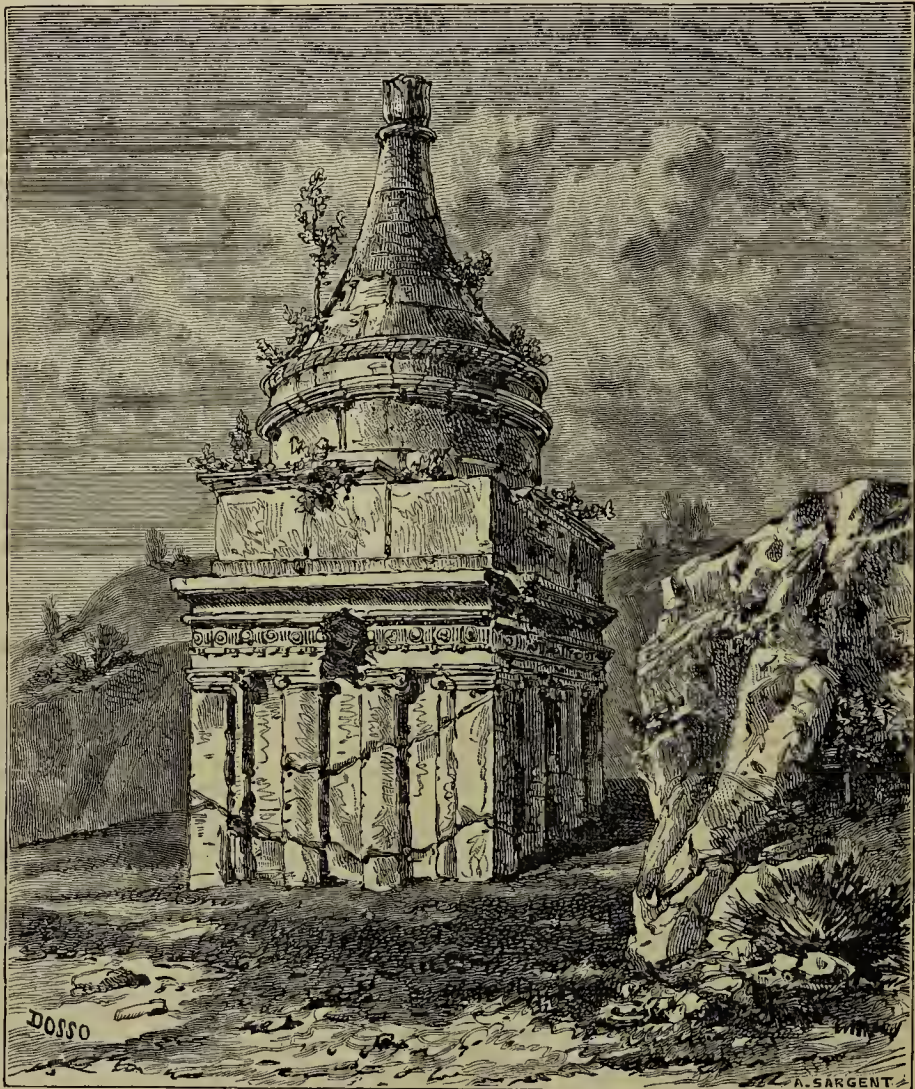
<sup>3</sup> Turreted female head. On the reverse Α C and a vessel. Bronze coin of Ascalon.

<sup>4</sup> From a coin.



Indian Ocean, taking possession, on his way, of Syria, which Tigranes had abandoned.

In the spring of 64, after organizing Pontus into a province, as if Mithridates were already dead, and leaving a fleet to cruise in the Euxine, he crossed the Taurus. Syria was in the most deplorable condition. Antiochus Asiaticus,<sup>1</sup> whom Lucullus had recognized as king, had not been able to establish his authority. A crowd of



PETRA. — TOMB OF ABSALOM.<sup>2</sup>

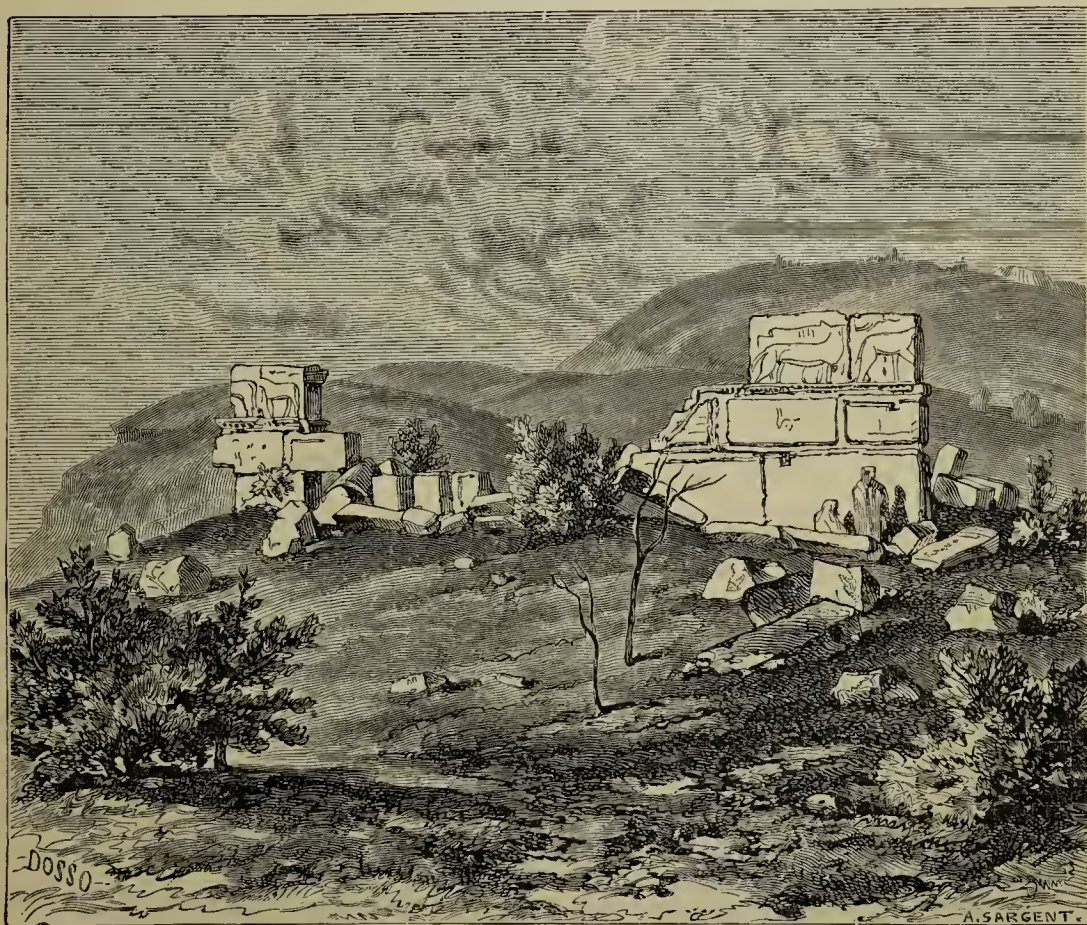
petty tyrants divided his cities among themselves; and the Ituraeans and Arabs pillaged the country. Pompey, who was deter-

<sup>1</sup> This Antiochus was the seventeenth of the Seleucid kings, who had for two centuries and a half reigned over Syria.

<sup>2</sup> Photograph taken by the Due de Luynes in his journey in the East, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem.



mined, notwithstanding the sibyl, to make the Euphrates the frontier of the Republic, reduced Syria and Phoenicia to the condition of provinces, and only left Commagene to Antiochus, Chalcidice to a Ptolemy, and Osrhoene to an Arab chief, with the design that these princes, being dependent on Rome, should guard for her the banks of the great river at the only place where the Parthians



RUINS OF THE PALACE OF JOHN HYRCANUS.<sup>1</sup>

could cross. In the interior of Syria the Ituraeans (Druses), who possessed many fortresses in Mount Lebanon, were reduced by a severe chastisement.

In Palestine the Maccabees had gloriously reconquered the independence of the Hebrew people; and since the year 107 one of their race, Aristobulus, had held the title of "King of the Jews." With this designation the new dynasty had also assumed the manners and the cruelty of the princes of the time. Aristobulus

<sup>1</sup> Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, monographie du Haram-ech-cherif*, pl. xxxiv. (Araq-el-Emir).

had killed his mother, and at the instigation of Queen Salome had caused his brother Antigonus to be assassinated. Under his successor, Alexander Jannaeus, the new kingdom extended from Mount Carmel to the Egyptian frontier, and from the lake of Gennesaret to the land of the Nabathaeans (Petra): Ptolemais (Acre) and Ascalon alone on the Mediterranean shore remained free. But after his time (69) six years of civil war cost the lives of fifty thousand Jews; and the disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees shook the State to its foundations. The former, occupied especially with the law and with religious observances, the latter with the aggrandizement of the nation, formed two hostile factions.<sup>1</sup> The Pharisees were influential with the regent Alexandra, widow of Jannaeus, and committed horrible excesses, as parties at once political and religious are wont to do when they have the power. A second civil war between the two sons of Alexander—the weak Hyrcanus II. and the energetic Aristobulus—brought about fresh complications. Hyrcanus was expelled from the throne; but the Pharisees called in foreign aid. They promised the king of the Nabathaeans to restore to him the conquests of Jannaeus; and Aretas, with fifty thousand men, besieged Aristobulus in Jerusalem.

One of Pompey's quaestors, Aemilius Scaurus, was at this time at Damascus: each of the two rivals offered four hundred talents for his assistance. Hyrcanus had already promised a large sum to the Nabathaeans, and could only furnish the money after a victory. Aristobulus could pay it at once; and Scaurus decided for him, and wrote to Aretas, that, unless he at once withdrew, he should be declared an enemy to the Roman people. The Arab king gave way before the threatened displeasure of Rome (64). When Pompey arrived, he proposed to examine into the matter himself, and cited the two brothers to appear before



DENARIUS  
REPRESENTING  
ARISTOBULUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pharisees have had until now a very bad name; but M. Cohen (*Pharisiens*, 2 vols., 1877) has undertaken their defence. The Pharisees of the New Testament were merely the enthusiasts or the hypocrites of the party.

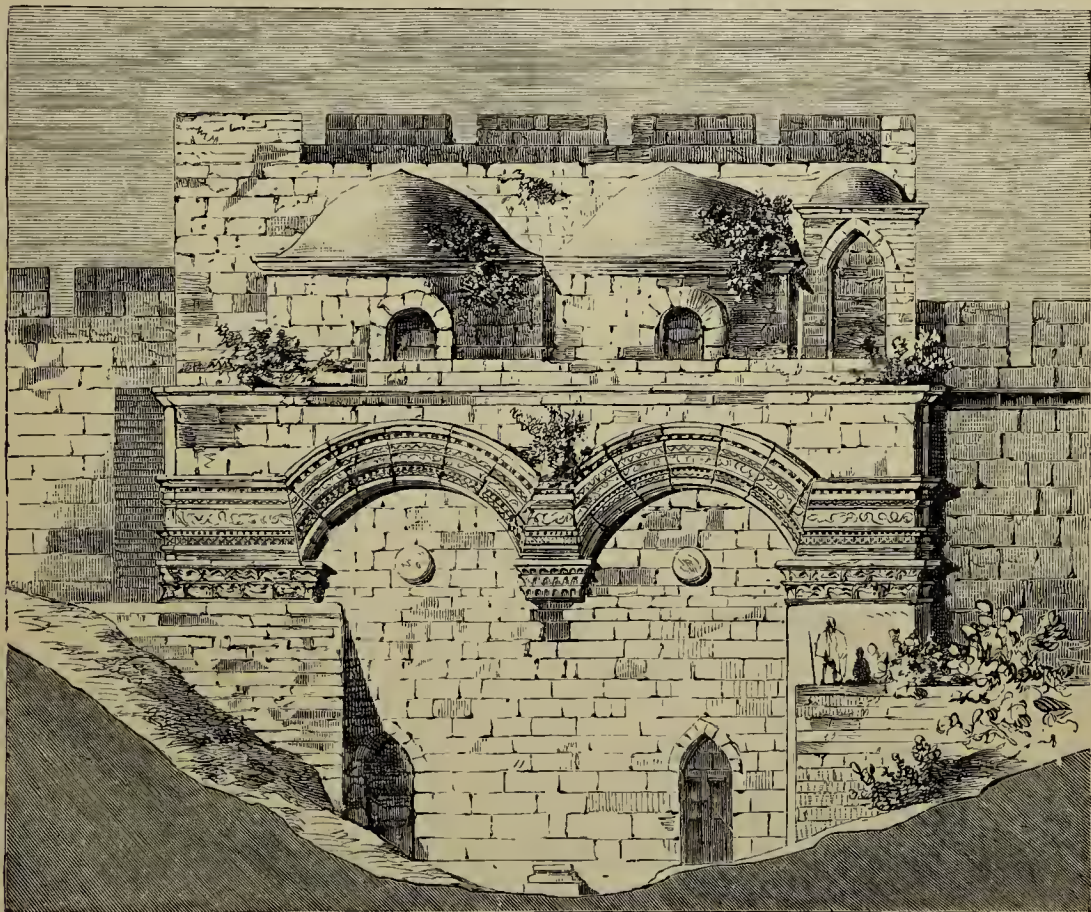
<sup>2</sup> BACCHIVS IVDAEVS. The Aristobulus of the Greeks was named Bakkhi: the Romans, believing that the name was derived from Bacchus, called him Bacchius. The Jewish prince, indicated by the presence of the camel (the animal used for riding in his country), kneeling, offers an olive-branch to his conqueror. (Note by M. de Saulcy.) Reverse of a silver coin of the Plautian family.



him at Damascus (64–63). Aristobulus tried with the general the method that had served him so well with the lieutenant, — sending to Pompey a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents and of the most exquisite workmanship; this time, however, without gaining his cause. Pompey, who wished to go as far as Jerusalem, a city which no Roman general had ever yet entered, sent away the two competitors, postponing his decision in their case



NABATHAEAN  
COIN.<sup>1</sup>



GOLDEN GATE OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM (WESTERN FACADE).<sup>2</sup>

until he should have chastised the Nabathaeans. This impartiality was not what had been expected by Aristobulus. He retired to his castles, and a few days later consented to give them up; he levied troops, then disbanded them; and finally threw himself into Jerusalem, whence Pompey enticed him, under pretext of a conference. The partisans of Hyrcanus opened the gates of the city

<sup>1</sup> Veiled head of the wife of Aretas, with the legend, *Koulda, queen of Nabath, year. . . .* The date is uncertain (M. de Saulcy.) Silver coin of the Nabathaeans kings.

<sup>2</sup> Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. viii.



to the proconsul, who besieged the party of Aristobulus in the Temple for three months. A final assault, in which Cornelius Sylla, the son of the dictator, was the first to scale the wall, gave the Romans the place. No quarter was given, and twelve thousand Jews lay dead around their sanctuary. During the massacre, the priests continued to officiate at the altar without neglecting a single detail of the ritual,<sup>1</sup> until their blood was mingled with that of the sacrifices. Pompey entered into the Holy of Holies, where the high priest alone entered once a year; but he respected the sacred vessels and even the treasures of the temple, valued at two thousand talents. Hyrcanus, re-established in the high priesthood on condition of renouncing the title of king and the diadem, was further required to pay an annual tribute, and to restore to Syria the conquests made by the Maccabees, together with the maritime cities, Joppa, Gaza, and others: this was, so to speak, a military road into Egypt, which Pompey thus opened to the legions.<sup>2</sup> Judaea, it is true, was not united to the Roman province; but it was left to fall into that condition of demi-servitude through which Rome caused nations to

COIN OF SCAURUS.<sup>3</sup>

pass who had not yet completely lost their patriotism. The Pharisees, therefore, had gained their cause. Jewish royalty was now a mere shadow, and of the glorious achievements of the Maccabees nothing was left.

The Nabathaeans had been pursued by Pompey's lieutenant, M. Scaurus; but he could not reach Petra, protected by impracticable deserts. Aretas tried to retain Damascus, whose inhabitants had appealed to him to protect their trading interests, but Damascus was within Roman reach: Aretas, therefore, bought a peace, so that Pompey was enabled to reckon him in the list of conquered kings.

COIN OF ARETAS.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus says, in fact (*Ant. Jud.* xiv. 8), that Pompey left to Scaurus the government of Lower Syria as far as the Euphrates and the Egyptian frontier.

<sup>3</sup> M. SCAVR. AED CVR EX SC REX ARETAS. A camel and Aretas kneeling, presenting an olive-branch. (See p. 144, note 2.) On the reverse P. HYPSE AED. CVR. C. HYPSE COS. PREIVE (Preivernum) CAPTV. Figure in a quadriga; behind, a scorpion. Silver coin of the Aemilian family.

<sup>4</sup> Laurelled head, with the Nabathæan legend, *Haratat the king, loving his people*. A silver obolus. This piece in copper was current as a half-drachma. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

During these operations, fortune was at work for Pompey in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Mithridates, who had been believed dead, or else a hopeless fugitive, had re-appeared with an army at Phanagoria on the Bosphorus, to call to account his son Machares, in the matter of a golden wreath of great value, which the latter had sent to Lucullus, soliciting to be received among the number of the allies of Rome. Machares knew the implacable temper of his father, and sought to escape, but, finding it impossible, killed himself. Mithridates thus found himself again in possession of a kingdom, and neither age nor reverses had crushed his lofty ambition. The Roman fleet barred him from the sea; Asia was subject to the Romans. One route, however, remained open to him; all the way to Thrace the nations knew his name and his standards. He proposed to go amongst



REVERSE OF  
A COIN OF  
ARETAS.<sup>1</sup>



CISTOPHORUS COIN  
OF TRALLES.<sup>2</sup>

them; at his voice they would rise in arms, and follow him up the valley of the Danube as far as Gaul, whose warlike inhabitants would swell his ranks; and from the Alps he would hurl upon Rome a torrent of barbaric nations. This bold plan filled the soul of the old king: all his talk was of the Gallic Brennus and of Hannibal; and with his wonted activity he set on foot his preparations. But his plans became known: his soldiers and officers recoiled from such fatigues and dangers. One of them, Castor, set the example of revolt by seizing upon Phanagoria, and fortifying himself there. Even his son Pharnaces conspired against him. This the old king pardoned; but soon the defection became general. Mithridates proposed to march against the rebels; but his very escort abandoned him. He returned into his palace, and from its walls beheld his son proclaimed king. Upon this he took poison; but in vain, for the potion had no effect upon him. He essayed to kill himself with his sword; but his hand failed him. A Gaul finally rendered him this last service (63). He was at the time of his death

<sup>1</sup> Two cornucopie and Nabathæan legend. Reverse of a bronze coin of Aretas (Haratat) and his wife, Sequailat.

<sup>2</sup> This coin of T. Ampius Balbus was struck at Tralles, after the victory of Pompey over Mithridates (cf. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 78, fig. 14).



sixty-eight years of age, and for a half-century had occupied the historic stage whence he made his exit thus tragically. We



CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS: LAUREL-WREATH OF GOLD.<sup>1</sup>

may say with Racine,<sup>2</sup> "His defeats alone made nearly all the military fame of three of the greatest generals of the Republic, — Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey."



MASSIVE GOLD RING.<sup>3</sup>

Pompey was before the walls of Jericho when news came to him that the greatest of Rome's enemies, after the Carthaginian hero, had, like Hannibal and Philopoemen, perished by treason. As soon as Jerusalem was taken, he returned into Pontus to Amisus, whither Pharnaces, as a last and shameful act of treason, sent to him, with magnificent presents, the body of Mithridates clothed in rich attire, after the fashion of the Bosphorus. The body was much disfigured, but could be recognized by the many scars which covered the face. The Roman caused him to be honorably interred at Sinope, in the tomb of his ancestors.

<sup>1</sup> This wreath, of magnificent workmanship, is represented in the *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. v. No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Racine, preface to *Mithridates*.

<sup>3</sup> Ring with an intaglio in Syrian garnet (*Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. xv. No. 9).



## III. — RE-ORGANIZATION OF ANTERIOR ASIA (65).

IN Asia Minor the population dwells along the coasts. Upon the Euxine shore the cities are less numerous than upon the



THE SANGARIUS, BETWEEN SABANDJA AND GHIËVEH.<sup>1</sup>

Aegaeon; but much of the land is no less fertile. Pompey relinquished the arid and mountainous interior of Paphlagonia to a prince, Attalus, who claimed to be of the ancient race of the Pylaemenidae, the early kings of the country, and he included in Bithynia the fertile region sloping down to the Euxine, between the Halys and Sangarius, together with some portions of Pontus lying eastward of the former river. The great Greek city Amisus, in the centre of this region, seems to have been garrisoned as the advanced post of the Roman



COIN OF APAMEIA.<sup>2</sup>

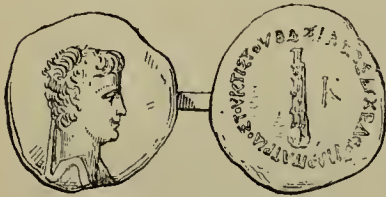
<sup>1</sup> Copied from the *Voyage de Constan. à Ephèse* by Comte A. de Moustier (*Tour du monde*, vol. ix. No. 223).

<sup>2</sup> The Meander and the Marsyas, rivers on the banks of which Apameia is built, reeumbent beneath the Diana of Ephesus. The head of the goddess is surmounted by her temple, and two hinds are at her side. The legend should be read thus: Πουβλίου Αὐρηλίου ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ, or, Publius Aurelius Bacchius, president of the feast of the Apameians; the Meander and the Marsyas. Coin of Apameia.

sway. Although Pompey had not ventured to carry farther eastward the domain of the Republic, he made it a point to preserve the memory of his victories over Mithridates by giving the new province the double name of Pontus and Bithynia.

He also organized the province of Cilicia, which was divided into six districts, namely, Cilicia of the plain<sup>1</sup> and that of the mountains, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, to which were added the Phrygian territories of Laodicea, Apameia, Synnada, and later (58) the island of Cyprus. Tarsus was its capital, *caput Ciliciae*. From Cicero's letters we know the cities where the governor held his assizes,—Tarsus, for Cilicia of the plain; Iconium, for Lycaonia; Philomelium, for Isauria; Perga, for Pamphylia; Laodicea, whose jurisdiction included twenty-five cities; Apameia, fifteen; Synnada, twenty-one.

The vast territory between Mount Amanus on the north and the Arabian desert on the south formed the new province of Syria; but it comprised too many peoples, dynasties, and cities, who at the fall of the Seleucidae and upon the defeat of Tigranes believed themselves independent, for Rome to do more in this region than to assume rights of suzerainty without interfering with local



COIN OF ARCHELAUS.<sup>2</sup>

liberties. She left great privileges to these populations, whose affection towards her was indispensable on this remote frontier, where danger was always imminent.

After the share of the sovereign people came that of the kings their clients. In recompense for his parricide, Pharnaces kept the Bosphorus, and shared with Castor of Phanagoria the title of "friend and ally of the Roman people." The tetrarch of the Tolistoboi in Galatia, Dejotarus, had shown himself faithful and valiant; and Pompey gave him for his flocks the rich pasture-lands between the Halys and the Iris and in the neighborhood of the cities of Pharnacia and Trapezus (Trebizond); to this he added Lesser Armenia, a poor and mountainous region, but a position whence Dejotarus would keep guard in the interest of Rome over the frontier of Greater Armenia.

<sup>1</sup> *Cilicia Campestris* and *C. Aspera*.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Archelaus. On the reverse a club. Silver coin.



Brogitarus, his son-in-law, received the fortress of Mithridatium with a territory extending along the joint boundary of Pontus and Galatia.<sup>1</sup> The son of the general conquered at Chaeronea, Archelaus, was named high priest at Comana; we have already mentioned the share assigned to Attalus in Paphlagonia; Ariobarzanes had recovered Cappadocia, and Pompey gave him in addition Sophene, making him master of the fords of the Euphrates. Gordyene, farther eastward, remained in the possession of Tigranes.

COIN OF COMANA.<sup>2</sup>

The Seleucid Antiochus held Commagene, a small province where the Romans had need of a docile ally, because it joined Cappadocia to Syria, and commanded the passage of the Euphrates. On the left bank of the great river, the emir of Osrhoene, Abgar, had also accepted the position of client of Rome. All the avenues into Asia Minor by the Upper Euphrates were therefore well guarded.

These dynasties remained objects of suspicion even while they were rewarded; but it was not so with the cities. Rome loved the municipal system; and to favor the Asiatic cities seemed to her general an act of good policy in this land of slavery. Pompey founded or repopled as many as thirty-nine cities, whose sites were so well chosen that some of them yet exist. He declared free the great cities of Antioch on the Orontes, and Seleucia, its neighbor, which had repulsed all the attacks of Tigranes; on the coast of Palestine, Gaza; on the Euxine, Phanagoria; on the Aegæan Sea, Mitylene. Cyzicus, which had so bravely resisted Mithridates, received an extensive territory; and Pontic Heracleia, Sinope, and Amisus, notwithstanding their long resistance to the Romans, were raised from their ruins.

Assisted by the commissioners of the Senate, Pompey prepared the rules of government (*formulae*) for the new provinces, Pontus and Bithynia, Syria and Cilicia, and did it with so much ability

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xii. 367.

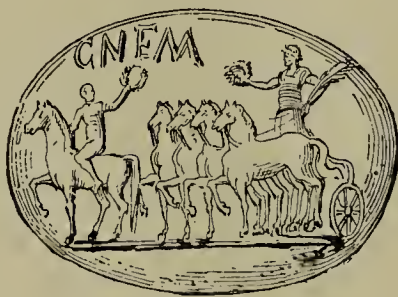
<sup>2</sup> COL. IV. AVG. G. I. F. COMANORV. Woman standing in a temple. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caracalla, who had raised Comana in Cappadocia to the rank of a colony. This city contained the renowned temple of Anaïtis, whom Strabo calls Enyo, and the Greeks confused with Bellona. She was a goddess honored like all the feminine divinities of Asia, with an orgiastic worship, wherein were shown "contrasts of purity and impurity, of warlike energy and unbridled lust." (See *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 10.)



that two centuries later these regulations were still in force. Never did conquerors obliterate by more benefits the memory of their victories; and we cannot sufficiently admire that genius for government which so well foresaw the needs of the subjects and the necessities of the Empire. From the Euxine to the Red Sea all Anterior Asia had been reconstructed without submitting it to that uniformity of administration which provokes resistance by violating ancient customs and manners. Subject cities of every degree, allied princes, free republics, all political forms, were here, and balanced one another. The kingdom of Pontus, which had so long threatened Rome, had ceased to exist; and Armenia, fallen from the high rank she had for a moment held, was now only a barrier against the great Oriental Empire of the Parthians, which Rome left existing for the reason that she was not able to reach it.

Coming into Asia after Sylla and Lucullus, Pompey had no need to strike heavy blows; but he organized the sway of Rome. He fixed limits which the Empire could never pass; and we willingly admit his boast, as he displayed his triumphal robe, that he had brought to an end the long travail of Roman greatness.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone (carnelian) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1871, which has been called the triumph of Pompey, but, according to Chabouillet, is only an athlete's victory.



CONQUERING ATHLETE.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER LI.

### POWERLESSNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

#### I. INTERNAL TROUBLES ; RISE OF CAESAR.

IN the time of Sylla, the Tuscan haruspices, being consulted about certain portents, had replied that a new era was approaching, and that the form of the world was about to be changed. But it did not require prophetic vision to see that a revolution was at hand.

In the last sixty years two diverse attempts had been made to reconstitute the Republic, — one in the popular interest, the other in that of the aristocracy. The former failed because the Gracchi counted too much upon that rabble of freedmen who had replaced the ancient Roman people : the other appeared for a time to succeed, because Sylla made use of the only power left in Rome, — the nobility. But this nobility, which might have ruled the world had it known how to rule itself, showed itself incapable of preserving empire ; and Pompey, to repay the plaudits of the populace, deprived it of a portion of what Sylla had given it.<sup>1</sup> This, again, was but a blind restoration of the past, a return to the times of Sulpicius and Saturninus, without further guaranty against the spirit of faction : this was to bring the war back into the Forum, where it did in fact soon break out. The consulship of Piso in the year 67 B.C. may be reckoned among those of the worst times of the Republic.

One of Pompey's former quaestors, C. Cornelius, was then tribune. He was anxious to repress the usurious loans by which the nobles ruined the provinces, and to prevent certain bribed senators from dispensing, in the Senate's name, with the observation of some law.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. p. 104.

Piso opposed this measure, and, when the people murmured, he ordered several arrests; but the crowd rushed upon the lictors, broke their rods, and drove the consul from the Forum with a shower of stones. Like Pompey, Cornelius was no demagogue. He dismissed the assembly, and modified his proposal in this way,—a *senatus-consultum* dispensing with an existing law must be passed by a Senate of at least two hundred members.<sup>1</sup> He also attempted to extend the crime of bribery to those who had aided the accused candidate, and he proposed severe penalties against them. Piso, finding violence unsuccessful, now employed artifice: he himself took charge of this measure in order not to leave the honor of it to the tribune, and under pretext, that, in the face of excessive penalties, there would be found neither accusers nor judges, he proposed for the guilty only expulsion from the Senate, suspension from office, and a fine. Again a disturbance compelled him to escape from the Forum. He called together his friends, came back surrounded by them, and the law was passed.<sup>2</sup> As soon as Cornelius had quitted office, the two Cominii accused him of the crime of treason in disregarding the veto of his colleagues; but Manilius, another of Pompey's agents, at the head of an armed band threatened them with death. They fled, protected by the consuls, to a house whence they escaped at night over the roofs (66).

Thus the armed conflicts began again. Not long before, Licinius Macer accused the Senate of despotism:<sup>3</sup> now the consuls reproach the tribunes with their violence. Nobles and people alike were convicted of inability to rule, and there remained but one further experiment,—monarchy.<sup>4</sup> Three men were at this time striving for royal power,—Pompey, after the manner of Pericles, by legal means; Catiline, like Dionysius and Agathocles, by conspiracies and the

<sup>1</sup> A more important law by the same tribune obliged the magistrates, upon their entry into office, to publish the rules by which they would judge, and forbade them ever to set aside their edict, as they had hitherto done, by a new edict, *edictum repentinum* (Dion. xxxvi. 38, 39; Cic., *Pro Murena*, 23; Dion. xxxvi. 21; and Aseon. in Cic., *Pro C. Cornelio*, fragm. i. 19, 34).

<sup>2</sup> The affair was taken up again in 65. Cicero, who was anxious to please Pompey, and render himself popular, defended the accused. This oration, which Quintilian (viii. 3) calls a masterpiece, is lost, except a few fragments.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. iii. p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero says, that at the commencement of his consulship, *novae dominationes, extraordinaria non imperia, sed regna, quaeri putabantur* (*De Lege agraria*, ii. 3).





JULIUS CAESAR (MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL).



soldiery ; Caesar, after the manner of Alexander, by great personal magnetism and the force of genius. To these three men was added another, who, superior to his age, believed in virtue and in the power of reason, and who would not yield to the thought that liberty must perish. Like Drusus, Cicero sought the safety of the Republic, not in the exclusive predominance of one class of citizens, but in the reconciliation of all the three orders. To have but one class in the State meant despotism ; to have two, war ; with three there might be harmony and peace. He had already done his part in transferring the judicial powers to the knights, and he strove to win public opinion to their side, extolling their impartiality and services in all his speeches. He desired to attach Pompey to their cause, and, as he had gained an insight into the nature of the latter's ambition, he spared no pains to advance it.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as a new man, Cicero needed Pompey's support to make his way : thus his personal ambition was in agreement with what he believed to be the public interest.

Another person also flattered Pompey, and beneath the shadow of this mighty name was making himself a position in the State. We already know Julius Caesar. His influence at Rome had become considerable, and he owed it neither to the offices he had held, for he was only pontiff, nor to his exploits, for he had never been in the field, nor to his eloquence, although it had been proved by early successes. The people placed their hope in this son-in-law of Cinna, this nephew of Marius, sprung from the noblest of the patrician houses, and they felt the charm that pervaded the entire personality of the descendant of Venus and Anchises.<sup>3</sup> His mind and manners had a fascination that one other great ruler of men has also possessed ; but in Caesar this



COIN OF THE  
YOUNG JULIUS  
CAESAR.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quintus tells his brother (*De Petit. cons.* 19, 51) that he acquired his popularity by defending Pompey's friends, Manilius and Cornelius.

<sup>2</sup> M. SANQVINIVS III VIR. Bare head of Julius Caesar represented as young and deified ; above, a star. Silver coin struck by Sanquinius, monetary triumvir of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 15 : "He bore on his ring the figure of an armed Venus, a double emblem of the weakness and glory of this great man." (Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*). The *Museo Borbonico* at Naples possesses a colossal bust of Caesar, which is considered authentic. His features have also been preserved to us by other busts, statues, coins, and gems. Unfortunately all these portraits are not alike. Cicero says of him, *Forma magnifica et generosa quodam modo* (*Brut.*, 75).



was allied with a natural elegance that Napoleon was never able to acquire. The latter, in spite of himself, was the representative of a young and uncouth democracy: the former was the heir of a time-honored nobility, a *grand seigneur*, who found himself by accident among the people.<sup>1</sup>

VENUS AND ANCHISES.<sup>3</sup>

upon the wealth of the world, he lavished gold less for his pleasures than for his friends and the populace whom he entertained at splendid feasts. Cicero, too fond of art to be a good judge of men — Cicero, who believed in Catiline's repentance, as later in the unselfishness of Octavius, was deceived by this apparent frivolity. "When I see him with his curled hair, afraid of disarranging it with the tip of his finger, I feel reassured: such a man can never dream of overturning the State." He would have been less confident, had he called to mind that journey into Asia (76 B. C.) during which Caesar, having fallen into the hands of pirates, mastered these brigands

COIN OF CICERO.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the formation of great men, Nature does three-quarters of the work, and education the rest. It is worthy of remark that Caesar's master in philosophy and eloquence was Gniphos the Gaul (Suet., *De Gramm.* 7).

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 43: *Usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur.*

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of a bronze mirror-case found in Epirus, representing at the side of the sleeping Anchises the goddess accompanied by Eros (Love) and Himeros, the personification of Desire (Millingen, *Anc. uned. monuments*, i. 2, pl. 12; cf. L. de Ronchaud, in *Dict. des Antiq.*, Saglio, p. 226).

<sup>4</sup> Head of Cicero on a bronze coin struck at Magnesia in Lydia, with this inscription: ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ (Marcus Tullius Cicero). It may be that this coin has preserved to us the authentic portrait of the great orator. (Mionnet, *Descript.* vol. iv., *Lydia* No. 385, p. 71.)

by his proud bearing, compelling them to listen to him and to serve him, and threatening them, captive as he was, with crucifixion. They had demanded twenty talents as his ransom. "It is not enough," he said: "you shall have fifty; but afterwards I will have you all put to death;" and he had kept his word. His ransom having arrived from Miletus, he had collected a few vessels, pursued and captured the pirates, and had crucified them in spite of the governor of the province. On his return to Rome, he accused Sylla's friend, Dolabella, of the extortion which he had practised in his government of Macedonia, and after him Antonius Hybrida, one of the dictator's lieutenants, who had pillaged several Greek towns. Those conspicuous prosecutions gave opportunity for a young man to attract public attention; but, by his choice of persons to attack, Caesar affirmed his popular opinions. Some time afterwards, while studying at Rhodes, he learned that Mithridates was making war upon the allies of the Republic. He immediately crossed to the mainland, collected troops, defeated several detachments of the Pontic army, and retained the towns in alliance with Rome; doing all this without having received orders of any kind. Young as he was, Caesar already concealed a high ambition, for he felt his genius, and saw the ills from which the Republic suffered, the powerlessness of the remedy proposed by Sylla, and the absolute incapacity of his heirs. His friends asserted that they had seen him weep before a statue of Alexander, saying again and again, "At my age he had conquered the world, and as yet I have done nothing."

He had done more than he confessed.<sup>1</sup> Already the Senate

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of Caesar's history up to his consulship is as follows: born July 12 of the year 100 or 102 B.C. (see vol. iii. p. 58, note 1); appointed *flamen dialis* through the influence of Marius, 87; marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, 83; serves under Minucius Thermus at the siege of Mitylene, 81; wins a civic crown there, 80; serves in Cilicia under P. Sulpicius, and returns to Rome on the news of Sylla's death, 78; accuses Dolabella, 77; accuses Antonius, 76; resides at Rhodes to attend the lessons of Molon the rhetorician, 75; regains the dignity of flamen, and is chosen legionary tribune by the people, whom he had won over by distributing largesse of corn, 74; his uncle Aurelius Cotta deprives the Senate of their judicial powers, and he himself brings about the recall of the accomplices of Lepidus, 70; made quaestor, and follows the praetor Antistius into Hispania Citerior, 68; marries Pompeia, grand-daughter of the consul Pompeius Rufus, supports the Gabinian Law in favor of Pompey, and is appointed director of the repairs to the Via Appia, 67; elected to the curule-aedileship, 65; made *juxta quaestionis de sicariis*, 64; chosen high pontiff and praetor, 63; his praetorship, 62; governor of Hispania Ulterior, 61; returns to Rome, 60; his consulship, 59.

watched uneasily the nephew of Marius and of that Aurelius Cotta who had deprived them of their *judicia*—this popular orator, who had brought about the recall of the friends of Lepidus—this prodigal, who outshone all the nobility in his extravagance. Crassus the consul saw in him a rival;<sup>1</sup> Pompey, a necessary friend; and the people loved him—that people whom he courted without cringing, whom he led while restraining their evil passions, like the spirited horses which he amused himself by taming on the Campus Martius. The nobles hoped, that, ruined by his mad expenditure, he would cease to be formidable when he ceased to be able to buy office;<sup>2</sup> but they forgot that perhaps the people would give to him what they sold to others. Moreover, the usurers with their rapacious instinct foresaw the future of the young spendthrift, and none refused him money. Before he had held any office, he owed thirteen hundred talents.<sup>3</sup>

When Pompey returned from Spain, he had found Caesar so strong that he had been obliged to make terms with him. He had thought to make a tool of him, but he became one himself; at least he fell under the spell. He listened to advice offered in the guise of eulogy, and Caesar had a great share in the decision which separated Pompey from the nobility, with whom he belonged, and placed him at the head of the people, where his character could not allow him permanently to remain.<sup>4</sup> It was well done to bring over to the popular party and the tribuneship a man who must inevitably offend both people and tribunes. And not less clever was it, when he had compromised Pompey with the aristocracy, to remove him still further from them by causing almost regal honors to be decreed him. Caesar gave his stanchest support to the propositions of Gabinius and Manilius.<sup>5</sup> On this occasion he met Cicero on the same ground, but with very different intentions:

<sup>1</sup> Caesar disputed a mission to Egypt with him, and he would have obtained it from the people, if the nobles had not hindered the plebiscitum by the veto of the tribunes.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Caesar*, 4; Cic., *Pro Planco*, 26.

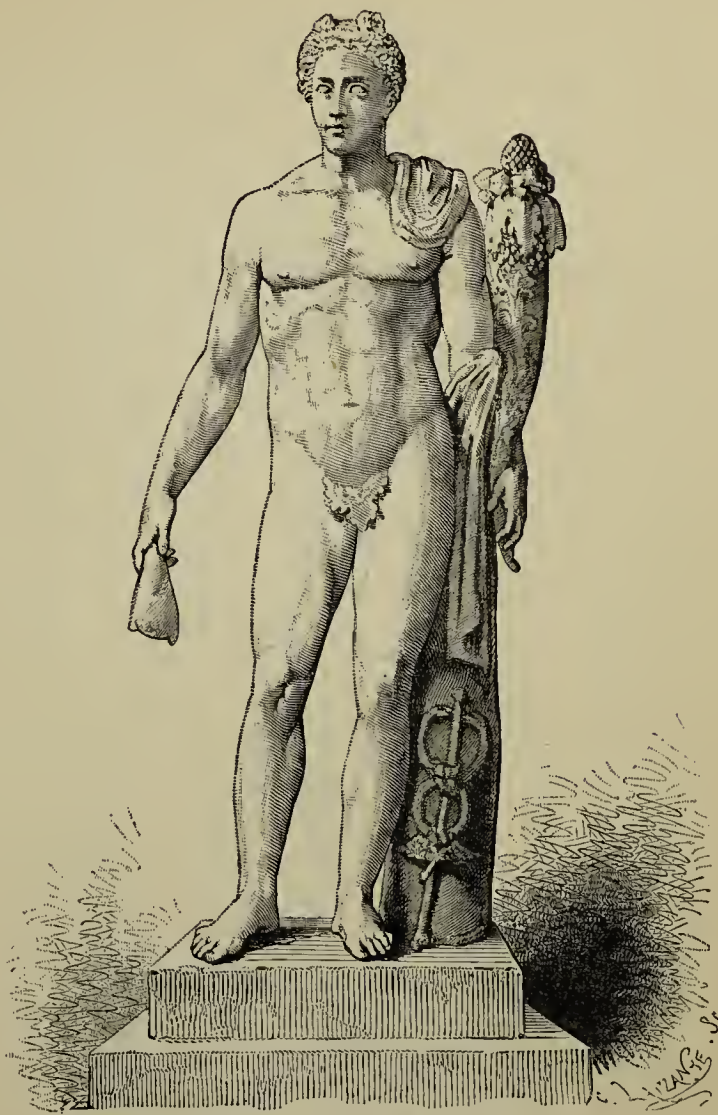
<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Ibid.* 5. His debts were perhaps less than stated. His borrowing was a means of attaching influential persons to his political fortunes. With this object he borrowed of Crassus, Pompey, and Atticus. (Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi. 1; and Plut., *Ibid.*) This Crassus was interested in the success of a man who owed him eight hundred and fifty talents. During his proconsulate and dictatorship, Caesar had his household affairs managed with care.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. iii. p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. iii. p. 116.



the new man thought only of gaining a patron, and votes for his own approaching candidature for the consulship. The popular patrician saw with pleasure how the people were accustoming themselves to confer great powers which he himself should one day claim. Yet there was a great boldness in accumulating so much power in Pompey's hands: was it not working to provide himself with a master? But Caesar thoroughly understood his rival. From the day when he marked the royal airs of the popular hero, he had never believed that Pompey's popularity would be lasting. The latter had nothing to

MANILIUS AS MERCURY.<sup>1</sup>

recommend him but his military successes, and, as for victories, Caesar would gain them: these successes he would eclipse by greater ones, and there would remain to him the advantage—a very great one in a dying republic—of knowing how to sway and lead that crowd of the Forum, whose nominal sovereignty an able man might at any time change into a real one.

These patient calculations have been too much insisted upon, and their subtle depth has been exaggerated. If Pompey had been

<sup>1</sup> This statue, as well as the one of Manilia as Venus, given on the next page, was found in the tomb of the consul Manilius on the Appian Way. They are now in the Vatican Museum.

really capable of vigorous action, all this scaffolding of ambition



MANILIA AS VENUS.

would have been overturned. At the commencement of his political life, Caesar followed events rather than directed them; at the utmost he did but help them to glide into the channels to which they themselves were disposed. He swayed the future in the only way in which man can sway it to suit his purpose, — by foreseeing, through a clear understanding of the present, to what far-off end society is tending. The saying of Cicero, quoted by Suetonius,<sup>1</sup> — “From his aedileship he dreamed of empire; and he made sure of it

when he was consul,” — is one of those pompous sentences which the great orator loved to deliver. Caesar did not dream of the dictatorship from his youth upwards. His birth had placed him on the side of the popular party, — the party which sought for reforms; and he remained there without ever swerving. As consul, he began these necessary reforms: as dictator, he continued and extended them. The Empire was the result of the Civil war.

But all plans for the present and the future, whether Caesar's or Pompey's, whether of the Senate or the tribunes, were nearly upset by a conspiracy hatched in the “vilest sink of the Republic.”

<sup>1</sup> *Caesar*, 9.



## II. — CATILINE (65-62 B.C.).

SYLLA thought he had made peaceable husbandmen of his veterans, and honest citizens of his enriched assassins. But these idle soldiers made others work for them, then sold their lands, and kept their swords only, in hopes of another civil war and fresh plunder. It had taken even less time for their former leaders to spend the gold of the proscribed. The rich and well-to-do classes saw with alarm beneath them, no longer the poor of Rome, an idle populace resigned to their miseries, and asking but a few measures of wheat to live in peace, but another populace, with a taste and a craving for debauch, — men with dark looks and ready hands, enemies of order and society, whatever the government might be, and living at the public expense by a thousand criminal pursuits. And day by day this threatening crowd was increasing.

For a long time, only individual crimes came from it; but a man arose who aimed at using this class, thus at war with society, as a force to procure his own elevation. Catiline had all the qualities needful for a party chief, — high birth,<sup>1</sup> an air of distinction, an iron frame which could endure all excesses, great abilities, unlimited audacity and courage, and at need the frugality of the hardest soldier. Liberal, obliging, and insinuating, he could be in turns austere, grave, or jovial, according to the character or age of those whom he sought to please. Ever ready to serve his friends with money, credit, or personal aid, sparing neither labor nor crime in their behalf, he exercised an irresistible influence in this atmosphere of debauch.<sup>2</sup> Two centuries sooner, Catiline might have been a great citizen; but the manners and social state of the new Rome

<sup>1</sup> The Sergian house was patrician, and had given its name to one of the tribes.

<sup>2</sup> Such, at least, is the portrait which Cicero draws of him in the *Pro Caelio*, and in the second oration against Catiline; yet for a short time he was in league with him: *Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam paene ille decepit*. Catiline had distinguished himself with Curio's army in Macedonia, and as soon as he attained the prescribed age for the praetorship had obtained it.



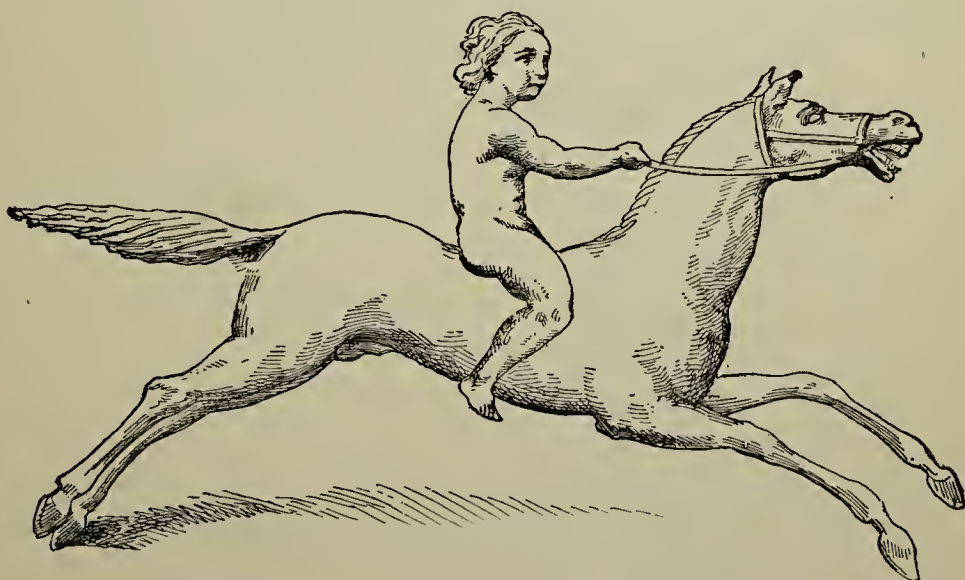
opened another object of ambition, and he pursued it with all the ardor of his fiery nature. By his age, Catiline belonged to the generation which had entered upon public life under the dictatorship of Sylla. The days of terror in cities — whether nature strikes with contagion, or men slay with the sword — are often accompanied, and are always followed, by the most frightful license. It was in the midst of such a time, when men played at hazard with fortunes and lives, that Catiline, prepared by the disorders of his youth,<sup>1</sup> had finished his political education. And how he, too, played with life and fortune! We have already said that he had distinguished himself among the fiercest assassins. He had killed his brother-in-law to give free course to an incestuous amour: he murdered his wife and son to induce a woman to give him her hand.<sup>2</sup> During his pro-praetorship in Africa he committed fearful extortions (67 B.C.). On his return he canvassed for the consulship; but, a deputation from the province coming to lodge an accusation against him, the Senate struck his name from the list of candidates. Catiline withdrew, frenzied with rage: forbidden even lawful canvassing, he set about a revolution.

He had long been leagued with all the infamous and guilty in Rome. But it was a party that he required, not merely accomplices: he therefore set himself to win over the poor and the dissolute youth by pandering to their passions. For any one who asked him, he had always fine hounds, horses, gladiators, or courtesans; then from pleasure he led them on to crime, and at last he had them in his power. But these profligate youths did not constitute an army. Catiline had long before prepared one by his relations with the military colonists, his old companions-in-arms. He reminded them of Sylla and his gifts, and of their lands pledged to usurers. If he attained the consulship, if he became master, it would be his care to preserve to the victors the fruits of their courage. The abolition of debts should be the prelude to fresh largesses. Accordingly the veterans held themselves ready to come to Rome in crowds and vote for him. Thus Catiline already possessed great resources. The severity of the new tribunals furnished him with other allies.

<sup>1</sup> His father had been condemned for murder (Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Cat.* i. 6; Val. Max., ix. 1, 9; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 2. Sallust does not mention the murder of Gratidianus, which Cicero attributes to him.

A decision had just condemned the two consuls-elect for the year 65 B.C. — P. Autronius Paetus and P. Corn. Sylla — as guilty of bribery; and their accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, had been chosen in their stead. Catiline inflamed the resentment of Paetus and Sylla; and a plot was formed to murder the new consuls on the kalends of January, on occasion of their offering sacrifice at the Capitol. Crassus and Caesar are said to have joined this conspiracy: the former was to be created dictator, and with this authority to reinstate Paetus and Sylla in the consulship. But this was probably a calumny. Crassus with his great



RACE-HORSE.

wealth had everything to lose by associating with ruined men, whose first care would have been to overthrow all fortunes. In the case of Caesar his kindly disposition was averse to the intended violences of the conspirators; but certainly neither of them viewed the agitation with disapproval, and, without taking any part in it, they must have awaited the issue to turn it to the furtherance of their ambition. Neither of them could assist these desperadoes in revolt against all social order; but they had no intention of constituting themselves the upholders of the oligarchy. They therefore held aloof, allowing the nobles and Catiline to weaken each other in mortal combat.

Twice the attempt failed, — on the kalends of January and on

the nones of February, — because the consuls had been forewarned. It seems that a reconciliation then took place, or rather that the trembling Senate attempted to pacify these irreconcilables by concessions. Cn. Piso, one of the most formidable conspirators, was sent to Spain as praetor: it is true that his Spanish escort assassinated him. But when Clodius again brought up the charge of extortion against Catiline, Torquatus, one of the consuls whom it had been proposed to murder, defended the accused, and we are not sure that Cicero did not also take part with him in this defence. He at least made preparations for doing so, and in a letter which is extant he congratulates himself upon having secured all the judges whom he desired. "If he be acquitted," he adds, "I hope to come to an agreement with him about my candidature."<sup>1</sup> This letter gives matter for reflection on the subject of the great day of the nones of December, 63 B.C. But we must tell the story from the only documents that time has left us, reserving, however, the right of forming our own judgment in the case.<sup>2</sup>

Catiline had been acquitted; but he was a ruined man.<sup>3</sup> All the gold he had brought from Africa had passed to his judges (65 B.C.). What disposed the Senate to connive at such schemes was the feeling of their own weakness and the fear inspired by Caesar. Catiline's ambition as yet appeared to be that of a single individual: at Caesar's back the senators saw a party.<sup>4</sup> In this same year (65) he had been appointed curule-aedile, and he had not let slip the opportunity of making a surer canvass than that of an election-day, bribing the whole populace at once with the magnificence of his games and his unheard-of prodigalities. He adorned the Forum, the basilicas, and the temples, with pictures and statues, and in honor of his father's memory he exhibited three hundred

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero afterwards, in the *De Officiis* (ii. 24), spoke of Catiline's conspiracy as only a debtors' plot against their creditors: *Nunquam nec majus aes alienum fuit, nec melius, nec facilius dissolutum est*; and the letter of Mallius to Marcius Rex (*Sall.*, *Cat.* 33) proves that this was the real cause which would provide Catiline with an army. But, if the soldier demanded only the abolition of debts, did not the chief desire something more? — *tabulas novas, proscriptiones locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas*. (*Sall.*, *Ibid.* 21.) Our documents show us an ambitious man desirous of taking the highest place: nothing indicates the reformer.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic.*, *De Petit. cons.* 3. He was again accused in the following year (64 B.C.), by Lucullus, of public violence, and acquitted (*Dion.* xxxvii. 10).

<sup>4</sup> *Suet.*, *Caesar*, 10; *Dion.* xxxviii. 8.



and twenty pairs of gladiators wearing gilded armor. Never had the circus seen such slaughter, never had the people enjoyed such a surfeit of savage pleasure. The Senate took fright at this butchery, or rather at the opportunities for a sudden surprise furnished by such an army of bravoës, and issued a decree limiting the number of gladiators at such shows. The Megalesia and the great Roman games were celebrated with similar pomp; and Caesar furnished silver lances to those condemned to fight with wild beasts.<sup>1</sup>

At these feasts and games, his colleague Bibulus, serving his apprenticeship in self-sacrifice, said with amazement, "We are both ruining ourselves; but it appears as if he alone provided the money: the people see only him."<sup>3</sup> Caesar won still greater applause when one morning, from all parts of the city, men saw at the gates of the Capitol statues glittering with gold: it was Marius re-appearing with his trophies of the Jugurthan and Cimbrian wars.<sup>4</sup> Some years earlier, Caesar had caused the image of Marius



CHARIOTEER.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 16: . . . *Omni apparatu arenae argenteo usus est.*

<sup>2</sup> Victor in the chariot races, from a beautiful statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, No. 619. In the right hand he holds a palm, the emblem of victory, and in the left, either the reins, or a purse containing the money he has won. His costume is that which the *auriga* usually wore in races.

<sup>3</sup> *Beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur* (Sall., *Cat.* 54).

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Caesar*, 6; Vell. Paterc., ii. 53; Val. Max., VI. ix. 14.

to be carried at the funeral of Julia his aunt, the widow of the conqueror of the Cimbri, and had publicly pronounced a panegyric over her.<sup>1</sup> But the Senate had proscribed these trophies; Sylla had torn them down; and now an aedile set them up again. The nobles were struck dumb by such audacity and by the joy of the multitude, hastening to salute the image of the man, who, in spite of his selfish ambition, had always been loved as the most illustrious representative of the people. Vainly did Catulus exclaim, "It is no longer by secret intrigue, but openly in the face of Heaven, that Caesar attacks the constitution!"<sup>2</sup> None dared support him, and the trophies of the popular hero continued to shine above the heads of the trembling senators.

This day was decisive; a party had found its true leader and its colors. Pompey fell to the second place in the affections of the people, while Caesar rose to the first. The conqueror of Sertorius, of the pirates, and of Mithridates, might now return: the aedile was in a position to cope with him.

At the expiration of his aedileship (64 B.C.), Caesar endeavored to obtain the duty of reducing Egypt to a province, in virtue of the will of Ptolemy-Alexander I. This kingdom, at that time the great highway of European and Eastern commerce, was the richest country in the world. If it had not the twenty-three thousand towns assigned to it by Theocritus, it is certain that it paid yearly a tax of fourteen thousand eight hundred talents. With such a revenue a man could pay many debts, and with the Egyptian harvests make many largesses to the people. Crassus and Caesar disputed the rich prey; but neither of them obtained it. The affair was postponed, and the tribune Papius by a law drove out all the foreigners whom the two competitors—Caesar especially, who was already in intimate relations with the Transpadani<sup>4</sup>—had called to Rome to aid in passing their demand.



EGYPTIAN  
REAPING  
WHEAT.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 68 B.C., during his quaestorship, contrary to custom, which did not authorize funeral orations over young women, he had pronounced a panegyric upon his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna.

<sup>2</sup> Marius had ordered the death of the father of Catulus.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of one of the Lagidae (*Cabinet de France*), published by Pellerin, *Médailles des Rois*, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. xxxvii. 9; Cic., *De Lege agraria*, i. 4; *Pro Archia*, 5. On returning from Spain after his quaestorship, he had promised the Transpadani, who already possessed the *jus Latii*



Instead of this brilliant mission, Caesar was appointed to preside at the tribunal charged with the punishment of murderers, *de sicariis*. Hitherto he had restricted himself to protesting against Sylla's dictatorship: he now sought to inflict upon it a legal disgrace. Among the cases which he brought up before his court were those of two murderers of proscribed persons, — L. Bellienus, the centurion who had killed Lucretius Ofella, and another more obscure assassin: these he condemned,<sup>1</sup> and, in order to make an attack on the Senate, he went higher still. At his instigation, Labienus, one of the tribunes of the people, in the following year accused the aged senator Rabirius of having, nearly forty years before, slain, by order of the Senate, an inviolable magistrate, the tribune Saturninus;<sup>2</sup> and he claimed the application of the old law of *perduellio*, which did not, like the law of *majestas*, allow the choice of voluntary exile.<sup>3</sup> Condemned by the duumvirs, Rabirius appealed to the people. But Labienus placed upon the rostra the image of the murdered magistrate; and he allowed the advocate of the accused only a half-hour for his argument. In spite of the eloquent efforts of Cicero, in spite of the prayers and tears of the principal senators, Rabirius would have been declared guilty, had not the praetor Metellus Celer snatched down the white flag which floated over the Janiculum.<sup>4</sup> This scrupulous people yielded to ancient custom while conscious of its folly. The meeting was declared dissolved, and Caesar, satisfied with having once more proved his power, let the affair drop;<sup>5</sup> but it was a warning to the Senate, that if they ever attempted revolutions the people would crush their tools.<sup>6</sup>

(Ascon., *In Pison*. p. 3, ed. of Orelli), to obtain for them the *jus civitatis*, which he afterwards bestowed upon them. (Cf. Suet., *Caesar*, 8; Dion. xli. 36.)

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 12; Dion. xxxvii. 10; Cie., *Pro Cluentio*, 29.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 555. It is not proved that Rabirius was the murderer of Saturninus.

<sup>3</sup> *Aliae leges condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed exilium permitti jubent* (Sallust, *Cat.* 51; cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. v. 66). The *lex de crimine majestatis* of Sylla seems to have abolished the *crimen perduellionis*, which still appeared in the *leges tabellariae* of Cassius (137 B.C.) and Caelius (107).

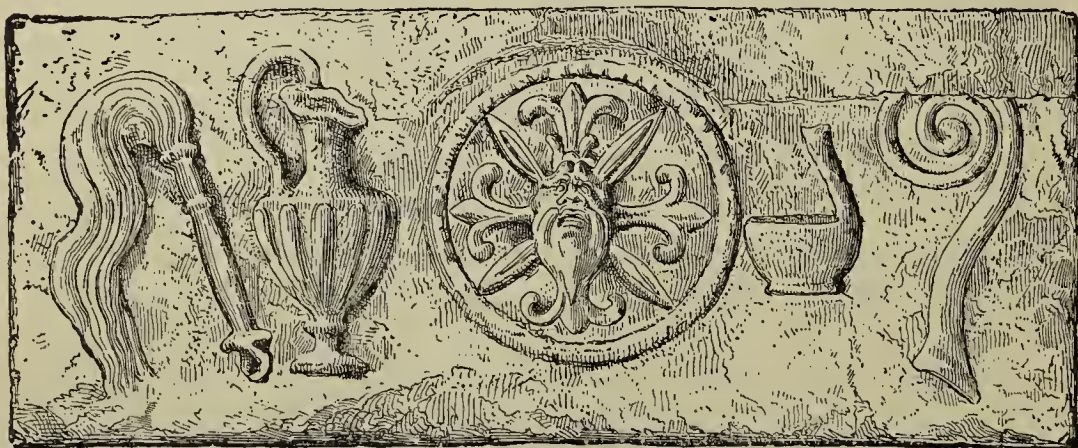
<sup>4</sup> *Roseum bellorum, album comitiorum fuisse tradunt* (Serv., *Ad Aeneid.* viii. 1). In the time of Dion. (xxxvii. 28) the custom was still observed.

<sup>5</sup> The same year he accused C. Piso of extortion in Gallia Narbonensis, and of having caused a Transpadane Gaul to be unjustly beheaded. Cicero defended the accused, who was acquitted; but by this accusation Caesar had renewed his old relations with the Transpadani, to whom he was a kind of patron.

<sup>6</sup> Cicero himself acknowledged that it was the only object of this suit: *Ut illud summum*



This same Labienus, who served as his lieutenant in the tribuneship, as he was afterwards to serve him in the Gallic war, also obtained the abrogation of the Cornelian law relating to the pontiffs, the nomination of whom was restored to the comitia. The people immediately testified their gratitude to Caesar by making him high pontiff, — a life-office which rendered him inviolable.<sup>1</sup> Neither his lack of moral character nor the atheism which he openly professed had proved any obstacle. His morals and his opin-

INSIGNIA OF THE PONTIFICATE.<sup>2</sup>

ions were those of most men of his time: at this very moment Lucretius was writing his bold poem against the popular credulity. The official creed was now nothing more than a State institution; but it gave its primate a high position, and Caesar would not leave to others this means of influence. Catulus, one of his competitors, knowing that he was deeply in debt, had attempted to buy him off by large offers of money. "I will borrow greater sums to succeed," he said; and we may well believe that he was prepared to resort to force, if his last words to his mother, as he set out for the comitia, be true: "To-day either I shall be banished, or you will see me high pontiff."<sup>3</sup> The same year (63 B.C.) he was appointed

*auxilium majestatis atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus est traditum, de re publica tolleretur* (Pro C. Rabirio perd. reo, 1), and, *Ego in C. Rabirio . . . senatus auctoritatem sustinui* (In Pison. 2).

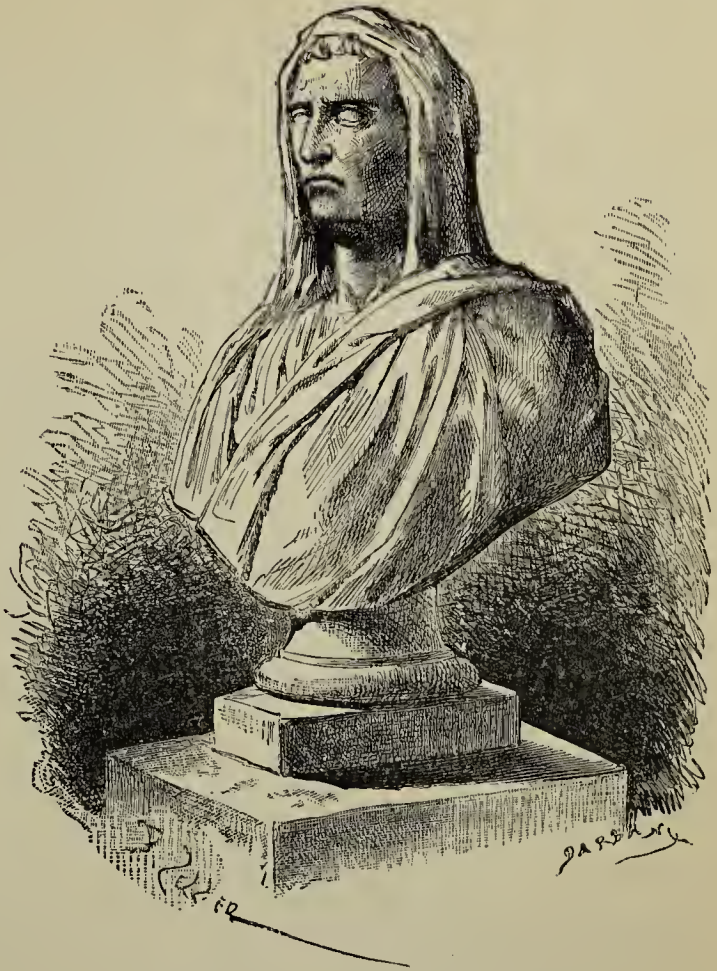
<sup>1</sup> Dion. xxxvii. 37. Marius, his uncle, had him appointed *flamen dialis* (87 B.C.) in the place of Corn. Merula (Vell. Patere., ii. 43; Suet., *Caesar*, 1). Sylla deprived him of the title; but he recovered it at the death of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta, in 74 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> A bas-relief from the Museum of St. Germain.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Caesar*, 7; Vell. Patere., ii. 40; Dion. xxxvii. 2<sup>a</sup>

to the praetorship, and, continuing his friendly relations with Pompey, he caused to be awarded to the latter, by a plebiscitum, the right to appear at the games wearing a laurel crown and the triumphal robe.

Cicero was then consul. The dread of Caesar and Catiline had obliged the nobility to accept the *novus homo*,<sup>1</sup> the brilliant advocate who had succeeded in winning so many suits, and who whispered in turn to each man of consular rank, "In my heart I have ever been with you, on the side of the nobility, never on the side of



CAESAR AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.<sup>2</sup>

the people. If I have sometimes spoken in the popular interest, it was because it was needful for me to win over Pompey, whose good will is so necessary in an election."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, those who offered themselves were little better than Catiline. Galba and Cassius were unknown. Antonius had been expelled from the Senate, and could not, as he himself said, have argued at Rome against a Greek, with a fair chance of being believed.<sup>4</sup> To throw

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (*De Lege agraria*, ii. 2) describes the kind of proscription which then fell upon new men. He had not, he says, at the beginning of his consulship the support of the nobility. Sallust speaks of the same thing (*Cat.* 23).

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Museum of the Louvre, representing Caesar as pontiff, a veil upon his head.

<sup>3</sup> I here do nothing more than translate the advice given him by his brother Quintus: *Minime populares*, etc. See the treatise *De Petit. cons.*, where Cicero's position is well defined, for some curious and indeed shameful details about canvassing.

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *De Petit. cons.* 5.



by a refusal, into the party of Pompey or of Caesar, a man whose moderate temper naturally classed him among the conservatives, would have been imprudent, and moreover useless.

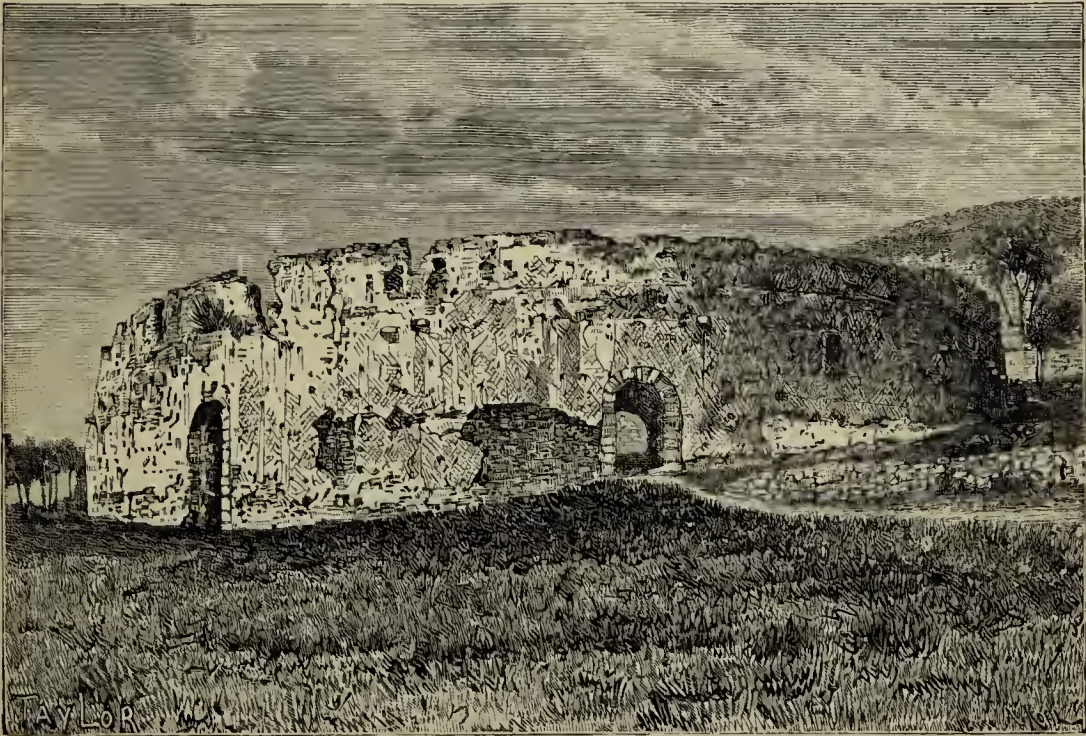
Supported by the publicans and the knights, to whom he had been so serviceable; by the Italian cities, who remembered his origin; by the younger nobility, enchanted by his eloquence; and by the leaders of the comitia, who for the last two years had formally promised him their assistance, — Cicero would have attained the consulship without the aid of the Senate and in spite of them. By receiving him with a good grace, the nobles won the devotion of the new man, and gave their party, for the struggles of the Forum, a great orator, — no inconsiderable acquisition.

Cicero was elected unanimously, without any call to resort to the ballot.<sup>1</sup> His success cut Caesar to the quick; but it was easy to put this popularity to the proof by raising some question in which it would be necessary to decide for the people or for the Senate. The tribune Rullus proposed an agrarian law by which the ten commissioners invested with the imperium should for five years have absolute power to sell the lands belonging to the public domain in Italy, Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and as far as Pontus, with the exception of those which had been assigned during the dictatorship of Sylla. With the produce of this sale and the revenues of all the provinces (except those of Asia, which were reserved to Pompey, whom Caesar still humored), together with the restitution of the spoils of war and the “voluntary gifts” of the provinces, — gold that the generals had not placed in the treasury, or employed in public monuments, — the decemvirs were to buy arable lands in Italy, especially in Campania and the fertile territory of Venafrum and Casinum, and to distribute them among the poor. Finally, the bill recognized their right to exact the rent due to the treasury for all public lands that they should leave to the present occupiers. By offering to Sylla’s colonists an exchange in specie or a guaranty of their holdings, and by allowing an indemnity to those who, being dispossessed by the dictator, had fallen into destitution, the ill-feelings excited by the proscriptions were to be allayed. The aim of Rullus, or rather of Caesar,

<sup>1</sup> *Non tabellam . . . sed vocem vivam* (*De Lege agraria*, ii. 2).



was patriotic. It was desired to reconcile the present and former landholders, and at the same time abolish the proletariat,—that scourge of great cities and wealthy communities, which we now try to abolish by a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry, but which could then be removed only by grants of land. But the law would also have destroyed all the wealth of the aristocracy by obliging the nobles to refund the spoils of war, which were as much the property of the State as the lands which its arms



RUINS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CASINUM (SAN GERMANO).<sup>1</sup>

had conquered, and of which Rullus proposed to dispose. By the Romans of the truly Republican age this right of the State had always been respected. A century earlier, Cato the censor was acting in conformity with the principle; and Cato of Utica did not divert to private use a single drachma from the Cypriote treasure. In the new Republic different ideas prevailed: Rome's soldiers fought and died, rather with the object of winning gold for their leaders than provinces for their country. The clause introduced by the tribune would have ruined Sylla's son, Lucullus, Metellus, Catu-

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.

lus, and a hundred more. It was indeed a remodelling of the State, a profound conception, which reveals Caesar's inspiration and his genius for reform: but it was also an extremely complicated law, difficult of application. The nobles who held the public land, and the knights who farmed the taxes, were equally threatened: they declared that a dictatorship must result from a law which conferred such powers. It was a case for Cicero, habitually their advocate, to attack the measure: he did so in four eloquent speeches.<sup>1</sup> With extreme cleverness he demonstrated to the poor, that to give them lands would be to plunder them; that to speak of liberty to them was to enslave them, and in the midst of this fertile Campania which it was proposed to divide among them, he showed the threatening phantom of Capua resuscitated, and as formidable to Rome as in the days of Hannibal. His eloquence, aided by the money of the rich, prevented the passing of the law. But, even while he repeated that he desired to be a consul in the interest of the people, Cicero had been forced by his new position to explain what he understood by those interests. His reasons are excellent. Nevertheless, the people, when they heard him speak only of submission to the present state of things, must have thought that the portrait of a popular leader sketched by their consul bore a strange resemblance to that of a devoted partisan of the nobility. Caesar, whom Cicero had attacked in veiled words,<sup>2</sup> was defeated, yet he had attained an important advantage: the position of the brilliant pleader who had just spoken with such effect was thenceforward fixed; in the eyes of all, Cicero was but the orator of the wealthy classes.

Another tribune proposed to set a limit to the civic disabilities with which Sylla had stricken the posterity of his victims. The decree was an act of cruelty, by Cicero's own admission,<sup>3</sup> and it was at once annulled by Caesar on his assuming the dictatorship. But, after recovering their political rights, the sons of the proscribed would

<sup>1</sup> Only three are left; but Cicero (*Ad Att.* ii. 1) mentions four. Three years later he wrote to Atticus (i. 19): *Confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones, is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium.* We see that his political ideas were confined to the protection of the interests of the wealthy, even against the most legitimate claims.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Lege agraria* (i. 7): *Hi quos multo magis quam Rullum timetis*; and ch. 24: *Eis quibus ad habendum, ad consumendum nihil satis esse videatur.*

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 1; *In Pison.*, 2; *Plut.*, *Cic.* 12.



perhaps require of Cicero's clients the restoration of their confiscated property: he therefore caused the rejection of this measure. When the people hissed the tribune Roscius for having assigned to the knights separate places at the theatre, the consul, who loved to mount the rostra,<sup>1</sup> led the crowd to the Temple of Bellona, cried shame on them for giving way to despicable envy, lauded the equestrian order, and brought them back repentant to the theatre. "This," says Quintilian, "was his greatest oratorical triumph." But, when the people were no longer under the spell of this oratory, they relapsed into their ill-will and anger. Cicero's popularity no longer seemed formidable.

During the whole of this consulship, Caesar had incessantly harassed Cicero. Yet the attacks of the popular party were not the consul's chief cause of pre-occupation. Catiline occasioned him much greater uneasiness. Alarmed at the progress made by the conspiracy at Rome and throughout Italy, he began to see that, while it was a question of influence and power between the Senate and Caesar, between Catiline and the nobles it was a question of life and death. At the last consular elections, Antonius had defeated Catiline by a few votes only, and the latter had inscribed his name again as a candidate for the year 62 B.C. In order to prevent his election, Cicero and the Senate supported Silanus and Murena, both friends of Crassus and Caesar, thus to gain those two powerful men, who were suspected of viewing with pleasure the dangers with which Catiline threatened the oligarchy.<sup>2</sup> As a last resource, in case the latter should be elected, Cicero caused to be added to the legal penalties incurred by bribery an exile of ten years for the guilty person.<sup>3</sup> Catiline, growing impatient, had determined, that if he did not succeed this time he would risk everything. His

<sup>1</sup> *De Lege agraria*, ii. 3. He will not, he says, imitate the example of his predecessors, who carefully avoided the rostra: *Aditum hujus loci conspectumque vestrum*.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Res publica in paucorum jus atque ditonem concessit*. See the speech which Sallust puts in Catiline's mouth. (*Cat.* 20.) It is the work of the historian; but it is also the opinion of a contemporary and an eye-witness. Sallust was twenty-six at the time of Catiline's death, and he had lived at Rome. Sallust does not believe in the dreadful oath by which Catiline desired to bind his accomplices. He is right in not believing; but Florus, Plutarch, and Dion have collected these horrors, which Cicero would not have failed to parade had they been true.

<sup>3</sup> This law also required of every candidate that he should not have given gladiatorial combats in the two years preceding his candidature. Another law, the Tullian, reduced to one year the longest duration of the *legationes liberae*.



preparations were completed; arms were collected in different places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria, and Samnium, long since worked upon by his emissaries, made ready in silence. The fleet of Ostia seemed to be won over to his side. Sittius Nucerinus promised to raise the province of Africa, and perhaps Spain. At Rome, no doubt, Cicero exercised an annoying vigilance, but he had no forces at hand, all the legions being in Asia with Pompey, and Catiline thought he could reckon upon Antonius, the other consul; lastly, one of the conspirators, L. Bestia, was tribune-elect, and another was praetor. Catiline hoped, therefore, that it would be enough to give the signal for his armies to appear suddenly before the walls of Rome, where other accomplices would set the city on fire at various points, so that amid the confusion they might get at the Senate and the consuls. A few of the conspirators, especially the praetor Lentulus Sura,<sup>1</sup> a ruined and dishonored man, talked of arming the slaves, who were showing signs of restlessness in Apulia. Catiline hesitated to let loose a horde whom he feared he should not afterwards be able to master. His accomplices were only anxious to escape from their creditors and judges: he had a higher ambition. In full Senate he dared to say, "The Roman people is a strong body, but headless: I will be its head." And on other occasion, "They wish to set fire to my house: I will extinguish it beneath ruins."<sup>2</sup> Less able than Caesar or Pompey, he placed himself outside the

<sup>1</sup> Among the conspirators besides Lentulus, — who had been consul in 71 B.C., and whom the censors of 70 had expelled from the Senate, — Sallust mentions P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, Cethegus (a member, like Lentulus, of the gens Cornelia), two nephews of the dictator, Publius and Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius (an ex-quaestor who had also suffered the disgrace of a conviction), Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, and Q. Curius, all senators; among the knights, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius. Lentulus when quaestor had embezzled public funds; on being arraigned he was acquitted by a majority of two votes: "I have bought one too many," said he (Plut., *Cic.*). During his praetorship he presided at the tribune before which was argued the case of Varro, the governor of Asia. Hortensius, the defendant's counsel, bribed president and judges; but, to make sure that these should really earn their money, he gave them different colored tablets (Cic., *In Verr.* 1, and Asconius). To regain entrance into the Senate, Lentulus again canvassed the praetorship (64 B.C.). The Sibylline Books said that CC and C should reign at Rome: already the prophecy had been realized in Cinna and Cornelius Sylla; the third was evidently Cornelius Lentulus. The "Sibylline Prince," as Poreius Latro calls him, threw himself heart and soul into the conspiracy, which included three other members of the same house, so much had Sylla's success excited the most vulgar ambitions. P. Autronius, consul-elect for the preceding year, had been removed from office: Cassius Longinus had canvassed the same office in vain in 64; Bestia was then tribune; Gabinius had been condemned for extortion in Achaëa.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Pro Murena*, 25; Sall., *Cat.* 31: *Incendium meum ruina restinguam.*

constitution, that he might overturn it with a single blow, assured that his partisans, once sated with gold, would leave him the power—even that Lentulus who thought himself predestined to reign over Rome.<sup>1</sup>

He awaited with anxiety the issue of the consular comitia. Cicero, who through the revelations of one of the conspirators



OSTIA, VIA ROMANA.<sup>2</sup>

was already in possession of all their secrets,<sup>3</sup> presided over the assembly with a cuirass visible beneath his toga; soldiers occupied the neighboring temples, and a crowd of knights surrounded the consul. Silanus and Murena, the two candidates of the senatorial party, carried the election.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *In Cat.* iii. 4; Plut., *Cic.* 17.

<sup>2</sup> Roman road leading down to Ostia, and bordered with ruined tombs.

<sup>3</sup> See, in Sallust, the part played by Crassus, an ex-quaestor who had been expelled from the Senate eight years before, and by his mistress Fulvia.

<sup>4</sup> Murena was accused of bribery by Sulpicius, whom Cato supported, to Cicero's great displeasure; for a condemnation would have given all Murena's chances over to Catiline.



The same day, emissaries went out from all the gates of Rome, and some time afterwards the Senate learned that armed gatherings had been seen in Picenum and Apulia; that the fortress of Praeneste had almost been taken by surprise; that at Capua a rising of the slaves was dreaded; that one of Sylla's old officers, Mallius, was encamped before Faesulae with an army of soldiers drawn from the military colonies and ruined peasantry; finally, that at Rome two conspirators had attempted at daybreak to enter Cicero's house in order to assassinate him.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately two proconsuls, Marcius Rex and Metellus Creticus, had just arrived from the East, and with their troops were waiting outside the gates the triumph which they had solicited. The first-named was immediately ordered to proceed against Mallius; the second, to Apulia; another praetor went into Picenum; and Pompeius Rufus hastened to Capua to call out the gladiators, whom he distributed in small bands through the neighboring municipia. Rome itself was put, as we should express it, in a state of siege. The consuls, invested by the Senate with discretionary power, offered rewards for information: they raised troops, placed guards at the gates and upon the walls, and ordered patrols throughout the city. This military display, these fears of an invisible enemy, increased the public terror: all persons of wealth felt themselves threatened by a great peril, which was not on the frontiers, but around them, over them, and they knew not where to meet it. Cicero was aware, that in the midst of this terror the slightest incident would be sufficient to upset all plans; but he would precipitate nothing. It was no longer the time of Servilius Ahala: violence, perhaps, might not have succeeded; and he knew that an energetic action which fails is fatal to a feeble government. It was necessary that the Senate veil its weakness under its respect for legality. Besides Catiline there were many other enemies. Which side would Crassus and Caesar take? They would certainly set themselves against an act of justice which could be called proscription and tyranny. To isolate the conspirators it was necessary, then, to oblige them

Accordingly Cicero, with Hortensius and Crassus, undertook Murena's defence, and the latter was acquitted.

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Cat.* 27, 30; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 3. See in the Second Oration against Catiline, 3, the description of the army of Mallius.



to unmask their incendiary schemes; and Catiline was still in Rome; Catiline still was present in the Senate.

On the 8th of November the consul had assembled the senators in the Temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline appeared there too. At

sight of him Cicero burst forth in that famous invective known as the First Oration against Catiline, in which he exhibited his full knowledge of all the details of the plot, overwhelmed the traitor with reproaches, and bade him begone from the city which he insulted by his presence. At the same time, lest Catiline should look upon this injunction to depart as a sign of weakness, he pointed to the Roman knights surrounding the curia with angry



CAPITAL FROM THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.<sup>1</sup>

gestures, ready at a sign to strike down this enemy of all the rich. But the consul knew that the populace were favorable to Catiline.<sup>2</sup> He feared that, if he at once proceeded to extremes, the blood of this criminal might some day be upon his head, and he therefore with all his strength pressed Catiline to open war, that the great conspirator might legally be declared a public enemy. Cicero remembered Scipio Nasica and Opimius, who had perished miserably for having served an oligarchy far stronger than the one that he was now defending; and he would have been satisfied with the voluntary exile of Catiline. Driven out by the eloquent speech of the great orator, Catiline quitted the Senate with threats upon his tongue. At nightfall he left Rome, and after some hesitation placed himself at the head of the troops of *Mallius*, bringing them, as a pledge of victory, a silver eagle, under which Marius' soldiers had fought at *Aquae Sextiae* and *Vercellae*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bosc, *Dict. raisonné d'architecture*, vol. i. p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> *Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, non exoptant* (Sall., *Cat.* 37); . . . *qui probro . . . praestabant . . . Roman sicut in sentinam confluerant* (*Ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *In Cat.* i. and ii. Catiline left Rome on the 9th of November, 63 B.C., which answers to the 13th of January, 62, in the reformed calendar.

In leaving Rome, he committed his wife, Orestilla, to the protection of Q. Catulus in a letter in which he said, "Driven to desperation by the injustice which deprives me of well-earned rewards, while they are accorded to unworthy men, I have embraced the cause of the outcast. It was the only course left open

to me to save my honor."<sup>1</sup> In the eyes of these patricians an election-defeat was an insult, because it lessened their dignity. Catiline perhaps had no right to speak thus; but the feeling of what was due to a Roman of high birth filled the souls of these nobles, even when they had fallen into public contempt.

Before going away, Catiline sent word to the conspirators whom he left in the city, to count upon him still, and that he should soon be back at the gates of Rome. Cicero endeavored to rid himself of them, as he had done of their leader, by exposing their schemes before the popular assembly, and overwhelming them by turns with sarcasms and threats:<sup>2</sup>—

"At last, Quirites, this bold man has quitted our walls; Catiline has fled. His fears or his fury have carried him away from us. The security of the State demanded his death. But how many among you refused to believe in his crimes! How many treated them as idle fancies, or found excuses for them! Now none will doubt, and you will fight him face to face, since he publicly declares himself your enemy. Why did he not take with him his dangerous accomplices? For his army, that mob of hoary

desperadoes, bankrupt peasants, and fugitive debtors, I have the



AN AQUILIFER.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Cat.* 35.

<sup>2</sup> This is the subject of the Second Oration against Catiline.

<sup>3</sup> From the Column of Trajan.





TRIUMPHANT GENERAL (POMPEIAN PAINTING).





greatest contempt. It is not the sword that will put them to flight: it will be enough to show them the praetor's edict. But there are others, scented, and clad in purple, who go to and fro in the Forum, besiege the door of the Senate, and even enter into the Curia. These it is among his soldiers whom I should have wished to see depart with him. The gates are open, the roads are free. What are they waiting for? They are strangely mistaken if they think that my long patience will never be wearied out. Whosoever shall make a disturbance in the city, or undertake aught against his country, will learn that Rome has vigilant consuls, a courageous Senate, arms, and a prison in which our ancestors willed that manifest crimes should be expiated."

A few only of the conspirators took fright and left the city. Among these was the son of a senator: his father, being informed of it, caused his slaves to pursue and slay the young man.<sup>1</sup> But Lentulus, Cethegus, and Bestia remained at Rome, now talking of accusing Cicero for having exiled a citizen without trial, now plotting a general massacre of the magistrates during the ensuing saturnalia. Cicero, by means of numerous spies, followed all their movements. He, however, dared not strike, because he lacked written proofs; but the imprudence of the conspirators at last furnished them.

There were at that time in Rome some Allobrogian deputies who had long been vainly demanding justice for their nation, ruined as it was by the exactions of the governors. Lentulus sounded them through Umbrenus, in the hope of making their discontent available for his cause. They yielded, and promised the assistance of their cavalry; then, reflecting upon the dangers of such an alliance, they revealed all to Fabius Sanga, their patron at Rome. He hurried them before the consul, who ordered them to obtain from Lentulus a written agreement, under pretext that without this their fellow-countrymen would not believe their words. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius sealed with their seals the required letters, and gave full powers to Volturcius, who set out at the same time with the deputies. The Milvian Bridge, over which they must pass, was guarded; they and their despatches

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., V. viii. 5; Dion. xxxvii. 36.

were seized; and, before the news had spread, Cicero summoned the principal conspirators who, having no suspicion, answered his call. Without questioning them, without opening their letters, he led them to the Temple of Concord, where the Senate was assembled to hear the case against them. Overwhelmed by the depositions of Volturcius and the Allobroges, the accused acknowledged their seals, daring neither to avow nor deny anything. Lentulus was so completely prostrated<sup>1</sup> that he resigned his praetorship on the spot. He was placed in the custody of the aedile Spinther. Statilius was assigned to Caesar; Gabinius, to Crassus; Cethegus, to Cornificius; Ceparius, to Cn. Terentius. Before separating, the Senate passed a vote of thanks to the consul whose vigilance had saved the State, and decreed that solemn thanksgivings should be offered to the gods as in the case of victories won by the armies. Cicero was the first, who, without wearing the garb of war, had obtained that honor.

He hastened to lay these revelations before the people;<sup>2</sup> and the masses, hitherto indifferent to dangers that threatened the oligarchy, were indignant at the alliance of the conspirators with a barbarous people, and at the appeal made to Catiline to hasten to Rome even with an army of slaves, while his accomplices should set fire to the city, and begin the massacre. Every man, even the poorest, felt himself threatened; and the consul, thus re-assured in respect to the people, precipitated matters in the Senate. On the 5th of December,<sup>3</sup> that day of the nones which he so often celebrated, Cicero opened the debate upon the fate of the conspirators. Attempts were made by many to involve their personal enemies in the coming proscription. Catulus, and in a marked manner Piso, wearied Cicero with their importunities to make the Allobroges implicate Caesar. Others raised up accusers against Crassus.<sup>4</sup> But Cicero knew well that in attacking them, the Senate would have to deal with too strong a party. It was quite enough to settle with

<sup>1</sup> A great quantity of arms had been found at his house.

<sup>2</sup> The Third Oration against Catiline, delivered on the 3d of December.

<sup>3</sup> Answering to the 7th of February, 62 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> We have seen that Catulus had been Caesar's unsuccessful rival in the competition for the pontificate, and that Caesar had brought a criminal charge against Piso. Crassus was denounced in full Senate by one of the conspirators. Sallust (*Cat.* 48) asserts that he had heard it said by Crassus that it was to Cicero he owed this insult.



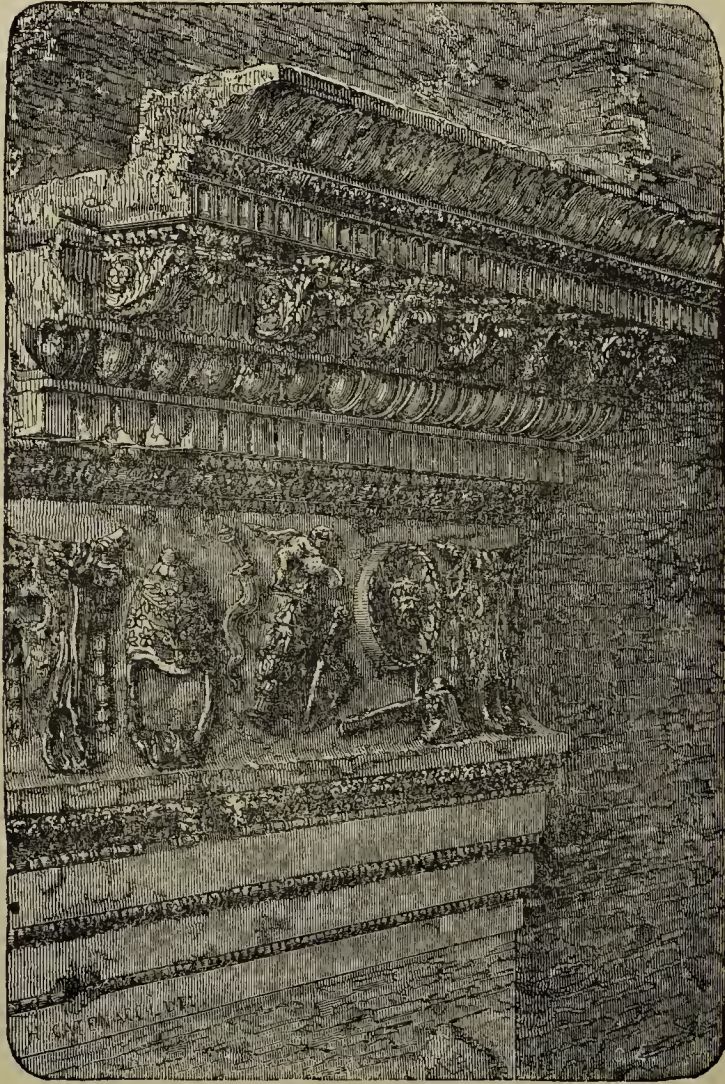
Catiline, to crush a civil war, and to accomplish one illegal execution.

The Senate had no judicial power: the right of pronouncing a capital sentence was reserved for the assembly of the people alone. The Senate was therefore about to commit an act of usurpation, and the responsibility would fall upon him who gloried in this act,—the consul. Accordingly, Cicero's conduct was marked at once by reserve and by boldness. He went on with the task he had assigned himself for the public security, his own fame, and his political fortune; but, while he did not shrink from the perils of the moment, he strove by dint of prudence to avert those of the future. While violating the spirit of the constitution, he scrupulously followed its forms. That the domiciles of citizens might be respected, he did not have the conspirators arrested in their homes. He did not give Lentulus over to the lictors—he himself led him by the hand into the midst of the Senate, because only a consul could *constrain* a praetor; and, lastly, he caused the conspirators to be declared public enemies, *perduelles*, that they might be proceeded against as if they were no longer citizens. But he seemed to dread increasing the number of the accused, and out of so many guilty persons he asked the condemnation of five only. If in the curia he proudly declared that he took all upon himself, he did not forget to display the mutual responsibility between the Senate and the consul. For nearly two months he had left unemployed the decree giving him absolute power; and now he desired that the sentence should be pronounced by that assembly, to the end that he might appear only as an instrument, and that his cause might become that of the Senate.

He had, moreover, neglected no means of re-assuring the senators by an exceptional display of power. All the citizens had taken the military oath the day before.<sup>1</sup> Many were enrolled and stood in arms to guard the Capitol: strong patrols were in the streets, and the consul's ordinary escort of young knights surrounded the Temple of Concord, where the Fathers had assembled. Silanus, the

<sup>1</sup> In the preceding year, Rabirius, when condemned as a *perduellis*, had appealed to the people; and Cicero had declared, that, since the passing of the law of *majestas*, the *crimen perduellionis* could no longer be recognized. In his *Pro Rabirio* he had recalled the law of Caius Gracchus: *Ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro julicaretur*; and in the *De Leg.* iii. 2, *de capite civis*, he repeats: *nisi per maximum comitiatum . . . ne ferunto*.

consul-elect, was asked first, and voted for the extreme penalty;<sup>1</sup> and all the ex-consuls followed his lead. Caesar, at that time praetor-elect, ventured to express a milder opinion. He voted for perpetual detention in a municipium, and confiscation of property. As leader of the popular party, it was part of his policy to invoke the laws in opposing the violence of a frightened and angry oli-



FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.<sup>2</sup>

garchy. Moreover, the people did not look upon the conspiracy with the same eyes as did the higher classes. The manifesto published a few days before by Mallius seemed to be what every poor man in Rome might say. To speak in favor of the conspirators

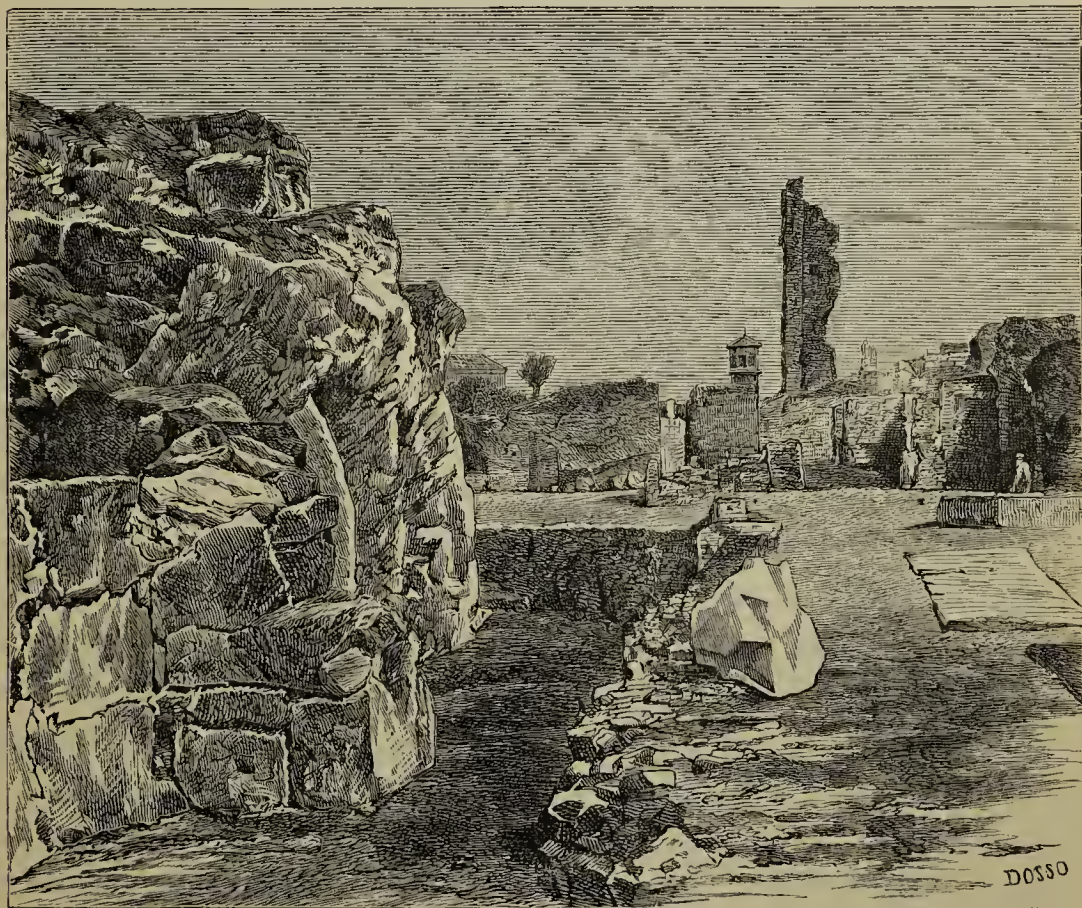
<sup>1</sup> Τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην (Plut., *Cic.* 27); Dion. xxxvii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Wey, *Rome*, p. 30.



was therefore to brave the oligarchy in the very moment of victory, and to win favor with the people, who, as Caesar said, so soon forget the crimes of great criminals in pity for their punishment.<sup>1</sup>

Already the greater part of the Senate, including Quintus, the consul's brother, shaken in their determination, were coming over to Caesar's views, and Silanus explained his own words to mean the same with Caesar's. Then Cicero rose, and pointed out the danger



THE PALATINE.<sup>2</sup>

of stopping after having gone so far; but although he had again in this speech courageously assumed the sole responsibility, yet by making it appear terrible and threatening, in order to magnify the greatness of his own part, he had frightened his colleagues, who would, perhaps, have abandoned him, had not Cato come to his aid

<sup>1</sup> See his speech in Sallust (*Cat.* 51). It is in this speech that he, the high pontiff, declares that death is the end of all pain, that beyond it there is neither joy nor grief.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of the wall of *Roma Quadrata*, beneath the Temple of Jupiter Victor, from a photograph by Parker.



with his rough eloquence, and bitter recriminations against Caesar.<sup>1</sup> The assembly were convinced, and the death-sentence was passed.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, in order to compromise Caesar, attempted to add thereto the confiscation of property which the latter had proposed; and the discussion began again, this time full of anger and violence. "It is odious," said Caesar, "to reject what was humane in my advice, and to adopt only its rigorous provisions." The consul, anxious to bring the affair to a close, consented that confiscation should be omitted from the decree. For a while the tumult had been so great, that the knights who surrounded the temple had invaded the curia, and threatened to slay Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

Cicero lost not a moment, that he might not leave Caesar time to cause the tribunes to interpose, nor the Senate time to retract. He himself took Lentulus from the house on the Palatine where he was detained, and led him to the Tullianum, whither the praetors brought the other conspirators. The *triumviri capitales* were awaiting them. Lentulus was strangled first; and Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparius suffered the same fate. When the consul, coming down from the prison, crossed the Forum for the second time, he uttered these words only: "They have lived;" and the crowd dispersed in silence (Dec. 5, 63 B.C.). No one at the time reflected that the Fathers and their consul had just accomplished a *coup d'État* by seizing the judicial power which the law did not allow them. But Clodius was soon to demand an account from Cicero, and Caesar from the Senate. Sooner or later political mistakes are expiated.

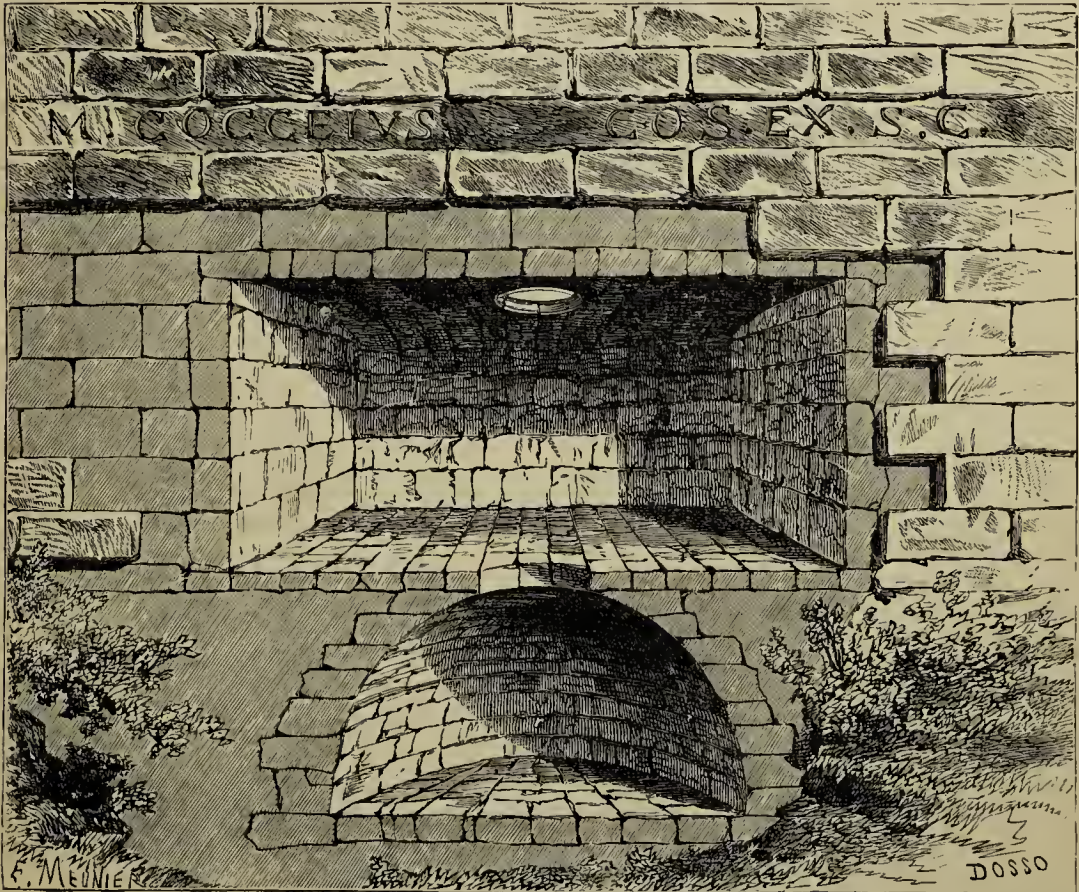
The success of the Senate's generals had no doubt given Cicero confidence to accomplish what he looked upon as the chief honor of his consulship and a great service rendered to his country. Everywhere the movement had been suppressed by the mere presence of the troops. There had been no serious resistance except in Etruria. Cicero, who had bought the co-operation of his

<sup>1</sup> See in Plutarch (*Cat.* 24) an incident which shows at once both the suspicious character of Cato and the manners of Caesar on the occasion of the note of Servilia, Cato's sister; which note the latter took for a conspirator's letter.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Eighteen years later Cicero still boasted of having pronounced the sentence before collecting the votes: *Ante quam consulerem, ipse judicaverim* (*Ad Att.* xii. 21). "The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation" (Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. i. p. 190, note 2).

colleague Antonius by a grant of the lucrative government of Macedonia, had placed him at the head of the troops directed against Catiline, at the same time, however, causing all the movements of Antonius to be watched by one of his own most devoted



TULLIANUM: SECTION OF THE PRISON WHERE DEATH-SENTENCES WERE CARRIED OUT.<sup>1</sup>

friends, the quaestor Sextius. This army protected Rome, while another, under the orders of Metellus, occupied Gallia Cisalpina, and threatened Catiline's rear. The latter had collected twenty

<sup>1</sup> The prison in which Rome executed criminals, kings and heroes, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, was made up of two dungeons, one beneath the other, — the Mamertinum, which we shall give later; and the Tullianum, which is represented in vol. ii. p. 516. We here give a section of the two dungeons. The Mamertinum, twenty feet long, sixteen feet broad, and formed of large blocks of peperino, had no door, but communicated by a narrow opening with the Tullianum, or lower dungeon, which was smaller, and almost circular in shape. There the condemned were strangled. The corpses were taken out, and exposed on the Gemoniae, whence they were dragged with hooks down to the Tiber. This bitter people were not content with the death of their enemies, they must also have an opportunity of insulting their remains, and persecuting them even in death by refusing them a tomb. Christian tradition makes St. Peter a prisoner in the Tullianum, which has now become the Chapel of San Pietro in Careere.



thousand men, of whom only a fourth part were armed. Instead of attacking suddenly, he lost precious time in negotiating for the defection of Antonius. But, on receipt of the news of the execution of Lentulus, the consul felt that the cause of the conspirators was lost, and he finally set his army in motion. Desertion immediately began among Catiline's troops: at the end of a few days he had not more than three or four thousand men left. He retreated, intending to cross the Apennines, and, taking shelter in Gaul, there to re-enact the part of Sertorius; but behind him Metellus held all the passes. In desperation he turned upon the consular army, which Antonius had placed under the orders of an old and able soldier named Petreius; and he met it not far from Pistoia. Before the battle, Catiline, like Spartacus, sent away his horse, and placed himself in the centre with a picked body of men. The action was desperate.<sup>1</sup> Not one of his soldiers gave way, or asked for quarter. Catiline himself was found, far in front of his men, amid a heap of slain, still breathing. His head was cut off, and sent to Rome. History, even while it condemns them, retains some pity for these great rebels who could die so gallantly; and popular imagination goes further than history. At Rome his tomb was covered with flowers,<sup>2</sup> as later was the case with Nero's; and in the most ancient chronicles of Florence, Catiline plays the character of a national hero.<sup>3</sup>

At sight of this easy success and the little blood it was necessary to shed, — at Rome, only that of five obscure or disreputable persons; on the battlefield, that of a troop, not really an army, of old vagrant soldiers, — we are compelled to believe that Cicero's eloquence has caused a misconception of the true importance of this affair. He believed that he had stifled a great faction, whereas he had only put down a common conspiracy. The poisonous ele-

<sup>1</sup> This battle took place a few days after the new consuls entered upon office: 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐβθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰούλιός τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἡρξαν, and consequently at the beginning of 62 B.C., — the middle of March of the true year (Dion. xxxvii. 39; Livy, *Epit.* ciii.). The matter did not end there; for nearly a year there were accusations and exiles (cf. Cic., *Pro Sulla*, and Dion. xxxvii. 41). As for the victor, Antonius, he was governor of Macedonia in the following year, where he disgraced himself so much by his exactions, that he was exiled, and in 49 Caesar refused to recall him.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Pro Flacco*. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Malespini, *Istor. Fiorent.* ee. 13–21. Coins have been found near Fiesole, the most recent of which dates from the consulship of Cicero. Some peasant, frightened by the Civil war, had hidden his treasure there, and could never get back to recover it.



ments that Catiline collected had not, in fact, been able to assume the consistency of a political party. From these secret gatherings might easily spring murder and incendiarism, but not a revolution; for revolutions are brought about by ideas and by the needs of a numerous class which is or will become the majority. Selfish passions bring forth only fruitless plots.

### III. — TROUBLES AT ROME UP TO THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (62-60 B.C.).

THIS bold blow aimed at society, however, was useful for the moment to those who governed it, and who seemed to have saved it. The Senate had given proof of vigilance and energy, and there was a general belief in its power. This belief the Senate itself shared. Pompey appeared less great, Caesar less formidable, and the senators forgot the indignation they had displayed on the day when Tarquinius accused Crassus of complicity with Catiline. Cicero, most of all, flattered himself that he had frightened and permanently cowed ambitious men and factions. "Let arms give place to the toga!" cried the dazzled consul. And, in order that he might still remain the hero of peace and of the city, he would not even take up his province of Gallia Cisalpina. He was quickly undeceived. He had written to Pompey with the tone of an equal, as one conqueror might address another: the general did not deign a reply. Pompey, moreover, had despatched to Rome one of his officers, Metellus Nepos, who easily obtained the tribuneship, and declared himself the consul's enemy. On laying down the fasces, Cicero proposed to address the people in laudation of his "immortal consulship," which, however, if we except the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices, had not been marked by any event but the passing of two unimportant laws. "The man who did not allow the accused to defend themselves shall not speak in his own defence," said the tribune; and he ordered him to confine himself to the customary oath, that he had done nothing against the laws. "I swear," cried Cicero, "that I have saved the Republic!" To this appeal Cato and the senators replied by greeting him with the name of

“Father of his Country;” and the people confirmed it by their applause.

But when the intoxication of this last triumph had passed, Cicero, grown calmer, understood the situation better. Pompey kept aloof from both him and from the Senate; Crassus accused Cicero of having calumniated him, and nourished a bitter enmity against him on this account; lastly, one of the tribunes seemed to threaten him with a capital accusation, in spite of the *senatus-consultum*, by which all proceedings were forbidden against those who had assisted in punishing the conspirators. The prudent ex-consul set himself to calm all this resentment; he strove to appease Crassus;<sup>1</sup> he loudly proclaimed the zeal shown by Caesar; and he humbled himself before Pompey, placing the latter above Scipio, and asking for the place of Laelius beside him.<sup>2</sup> He even sought friends from among Catiline’s accomplices. P. Cornelius Sylla, one of the conspirators, was defended by Cicero, and acquitted in spite of strong evidence against him. Are we to believe Aulus Gellius, who affirms that the accused *lent* his advocate two million sesterces, with which he bought himself a magnificent house?

Metellus Nepos meanwhile had as his colleague in the tribuneship a citizen on whom Cicero and the Senate could depend, — M. Porcius Cato. Rigid and uncompromising in every relation of life, Cato was, perhaps, of all the famous personages of antiquity, the one who possessed the highest idea of duty.<sup>3</sup> Like his ancestor, whose bluntness he inherited, he made himself censor of the men of his time: ceaselessly and without stint he fought for what he believed to be the right, and, when he thought he owed his cause a last example, he killed himself, that his blood might stain the triumphal crown of the victor, and remain the last protest of liberty.

Unhappily this worthy man, who as praetor sat in court

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 14. Crassus only praised him after Pompey’s return, and in order to match the latter by extolling another man’s services.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Fam.* v. 7; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xii. 12. The great advocates of Rome proclaimed that they received nothing from their clients: they were only friends, to whom they lent the assistance of their eloquence. Cicero says so in twenty places; and makes it a reproach against Hortensius in the Verrine Orations, for instance, that his zeal is not disinterested. But the clients had to pay on election-days: moreover, presents took the place of fees.

<sup>3</sup> [This estimate of Cato is surely far above the truth. To put him on a level with Soerates or with M. Aurelius is unjust to both these men. — *Ed.*]

barefooted, and with no tunic under his toga, made himself ridiculous by his affectation of rusticity, and he understood neither the things nor the men among whom he lived.<sup>1</sup> He was one of those extreme conservatives who would fain arrest time and bring back the dead. The elder Cato, a man of original and sound mind, exercised a great influence: his great-grandson had none whatever; he did not even attain the consulship, and lived in the memory of posterity only by his death.

He had already been quaestor: his predecessors, all young nobles, who were easily tired of figures and financial affairs, left these fatiguing duties to the clerks of the treasury, while they betook themselves to their own pleasures. Hence arose a fearful waste of public funds,—false charges that were admitted, and debts to the treasury that were left unpaid. Cato had kept watch upon these officials, and, in spite of their clamor and the interested protection of a few important men, had succeeded in bringing them back to order and duty. The murderers of the proscribed had been accustomed to receive as much as two talents for each head they brought in. These persons Cato had prosecuted for having wrongfully obtained public funds, and had compelled restitution.

The senators feared him, because he spared no one; but the Senate loved him, because, as a body, they had in him an intrepid champion. We have seen his conduct in the case of Lentulus. A short time before, on the road to Lucania, whither he was going to visit his property, he had met a long train of beasts of burden carrying baggage. Inquiring to whom all this belonged, he had been told that it was the property of Metellus Nepos, who was returning to Rome to canvass the tribuneship. “I have no time now to go to the country and be idle,” he said, “this agent of Pompey’s will fall on the government like a thunderbolt,” and forthwith turned back and claimed the tribuneship for himself. The people had just sold the consular fasces to Murena. Cicero knew this, but in the face of Catiline, who was not yet vanquished, he thought it dangerous to condemn a noble, and cause a new election: therefore, in spite of the *lex Tullia*, he undertook the defence of Murena, whom Cato, a

<sup>1</sup> There is still in existence, however, a letter addressed to Cicero which we should not have expected to see signed with his name, and in which he shows himself a match for the great wit (*Ad Fam.* xv. 5).



stranger to all interested prudence, accused. In order to destroy the ascendancy of such a name, Cicero attacked his too rigid virtue with sarcasms. "Would you know, judges, what a sage of the Porch is? He yields nothing by favor, he never pardons. He alone is handsome, were he a cripple, bandy-legged, and crooked; he alone is rich, though he be a beggar; he is king, though he be a slave. We, the rest, who do not possess wisdom, are fugitives, exiles, enemies, fools. All faults are equal; every offence is a crime. To strangle a father, or to wring the neck of a chicken needlessly, is one and the same thing. The sage never doubts, never repents, is never mistaken, and never changes his mind." In this strain he continued for some time. "We have," said Cato, "a most humorous consul."<sup>1</sup> He did not, however, retain any ill feeling against Cicero, but supported him against Caesar, and was the first to salute him with the name of "Father of his Country."

Cicero had hoped to unite in one party those whom he called honest men, that is to say, men of property; and the knights had rallied round him. The object of this party was the defence of the Senate's preponderating power, the preservation to the nobles of their privileges, and to the knights of the sources of their fortunes: it was, in a word, the maintenance of the established order without the desire of ameliorating and justifying this form of government by putting an end to abuses. To keep this party together, Cicero lent himself to anything, even to throwing a veil over the faults of the nobles: this stern judge of Lentulus had just obtained the acquittal of Sylla. But Cato roughly unmasked the guilty among the people as well as among the nobles: everywhere, too, he found a noble to stay his hand. Cicero saved Murena from him; and Catulus even resorted to violence in order to save an obscure government-clerk. Cato tried, nevertheless, to gain some popularity for his party by obtaining a decree from the Senate for a distribution of corn to the poor, which cost the State twelve hundred and fifty talents a year.<sup>2</sup>

To this measure the popular leaders replied, in spite of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 21; ὧς γελοῖον ὕπατον ἔχομεν. [See how splendidly Cicero himself, at the end of the third book *De Finibus*, draws in very similar words but in serious earnest the picture of the Stoic sage. Cf. Mr. Reid's *Trans.*, p. 110. — *Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.* 26. In his *Life of Caesar* he only estimates this expenditure at five million five hundred thousand drachmae, or nine hundred and seventeen talents.

opposition of the Fathers, by the suppression, for the benefit of the merchants, of export and import dues throughout Italy;<sup>1</sup> and Caesar was shortly to propose to distribute among the poor the last remaining acres of the public domain in Campania. Thus did every man, even Cato, in the interest of his party, increase the public expenses, and diminish the public revenue; nor has this policy yet fallen into disuse. The measures of Metellus and of Caesar will at least be an encouragement to commerce and agriculture; whereas Cato's frumentary law increased the idle crowd in the Forum, which during his dictatorship the vanquisher of the nobles will be obliged to reduce.

Catulus, the leader of the Senate, had commenced the rebuilding of the Capitol, and had hastened to secure the honor, so valuable to a Roman, of inscribing his name on the monument. Upon his accession to the praetorship, Caesar proposed to intrust to Pompey the duty of finishing the new temple, which would give him the right to put his name in place of that of Catulus. The matter was of little consequence, being only a question of vanity; but it showed the persistence of Caesar in his policy towards Pompey and the growing opposition between the popular party and the party of the nobles. The latter, on hearing of Caesar's proposition, had hastened to the Forum in such numbers, that the praetor, satisfied with having once more made his intentions clear, let the affair drop.<sup>2</sup>

Metellus went further: he proposed that the proconsul of Asia should be recalled with all his troops, and charged with the re-establishment of order in the city. This measure appeared to threaten Catiline alone, who still held out (in reality it was directed against Cicero and the oligarchy); and Cato swore that as long as he lived the proposal should not pass.<sup>3</sup>

On the morning of the day when the tribes were to vote, Metellus caused the adjoining temple of Castor to be occupied by gladiators, and seated himself at the top of the steps by Caesar's side. Cato passed boldly through the armed crowd, and placed himself between the tribune and the praetor to keep them apart.

<sup>1</sup> Proposed in 60 by the praetor Metellus Nepos (Dion. xxxvii. 51).

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 15; Dion. xxxvii. 44. Catulus having been intrusted with the re-building of the temple, burnt down in the month of July, 83, had dedicated it in 69, although it was far from being finished, and he continued to superintend the reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Cato Minor*, 26.

When the clerk began to read the text of the bill, Cato prevented him: upon this Metellus took the tablets, and would have read it himself; but Cato snatched them from him, and broke them. The tribune then began to repeat the bill from memory, and one of Cato's friends silenced him. The people clapped their hands; but, at a sign from Metellus, the gladiators drove away the crowd. Cato, who would not draw back, was with great difficulty saved by Murena. After some time, the nobles returned in force, and Metellus, in his turn, fled from the city to take refuge with Pompey in Asia.

The senators, deceived as to their real strength by this new victory, and growing accustomed to revolutions, declared the tribune and Caesar suspended from their functions.<sup>1</sup> Caesar at first paid no heed to this decree, desiring to lead on the nobles to some violent measure, which would allow him to present himself before the people as a victim of the Senate. When the nobles threatened to employ force if he did not obey, he sent away his lictors. But the effect he had hoped for was already produced: crowds hastened to him, and offered to maintain him against everyone in the office which the people had conferred upon him; and the Senate, in order not to put his apparent abnegation too seriously to the proof, cancelled their decree.

Some time afterwards Vettius, one of the spies whom Cicero had employed to trace out the Catilinian conspiracy, and who since that time had had denunciations ready for all who would pay for them, cited Caesar before the praetor, Novius Niger, as an accomplice of Catiline; and another man accused him in full Senate of having been a party to the plot, the informant averring that he had it from Catiline himself. When this report spread through the city, the people once more hastened to save their chief; and threats were heard around the curia. The accusation was hurriedly declared to be calumnious; Cicero spoke against it; and Vettius, being delivered over to Caesar, was almost torn in pieces by the angry crowd.<sup>2</sup> As for the quaestor who had received in his court a summons against a praetor, his superior magistrate, Caesar had him dragged to prison, to teach him respect for the gradations of official rank.

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 17; Dion. xxxvii. 41.



Caesar had that gift, so often possessed by great statesmen, of making even their rivals serve in the furtherance of their own designs. He had made use of Pompey's help in overthrowing what Sylla had done: he employed Crassus in reducing to ruins the work of Cicero, — that second revival of the senatorial power. Crassus, more than any other contemporary of Caesar, has been sacrificed to him; he has been made a ridiculous personage, a kind of dummy in that terrible game played by the two other triumvirs. It is forgotten that, as a general he ranks with Pompey and Lucullus, and that, if his victories were less famous, they were more honorable; for against the gladiators, and against Telesinus, he twice saved the existence of Rome. While Pompey went over to the people, Crassus remained faithful to the Cornelian constitution, and for seven years he was, with Catulus, the leader of the Senate. His immense wealth — the spoils of the Civil war — gave him clients even in that assembly; and his slaves, of whom he might have formed an army, his freedmen, his debtors, and his tenants, — for he owned several districts in Rome, — rendered his support valuable in promoting or arresting a movement. The nobles made the mistake of alienating him from them, and they showed him who ought to be his ally, when they classed him with Caesar in vague suspicions of complicity with Catiline. In the Senate no man could obtain a hearing but Cicero, Cato, and Lucullus,<sup>2</sup> and the impending return of the Pompeian legions was everywhere talked of. Against this oligarchy, which had now regained its confidence and haughtiness, and against his old enemy, the proconsul of Asia, it was for the interest of Crassus to unite himself with the man whom the oligarchy also persecuted. Caesar hastened to profit by his close connection with the wealthy capitalist, but not at first for his own advantage.

BONA DEA.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette found in the neighborhood of Naples. The Good Goddess, protectress of fruitful matrons, holds a child in swaddling-clothes, and bears in her right hand a sucking-pig, the victim usually sacrificed to the *Bona Dea*, as also to Ceres and Proserpine (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, fig. 868, p. 726).

<sup>2</sup> Sallust asserts that he had often heard Crassus complain bitterly of Cicero. Velleius Patereulus pays a tribute to the manners of Crassus: *Vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus* (ii. 46).

Clodius, a patrician of a petulant and ambitious nature, like all his race, and steeped, while still a youth, in debts and vices,<sup>1</sup> had gained an entrance into Caesar's house, in woman's dress, during the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which had never been profaned by the gaze of a man. Scarcely had he entered when he was discovered. The women cried out; and the pontiffs ordered the

ROMAN PONTIFF.<sup>2</sup> ?

desecrated mysteries to be performed over again. By his relations with the popular party, Clodius had separated himself from the nobles, and they seized this opportunity of ruining their new enemy, and embarrassing Caesar, whose wife he had compromised: they had an accusation of sacrilege brought against him. Cicero and the quiet members of his party hesitated; but Cato insisted; and the matrons, who considered themselves insulted, piously set the whole city in a ferment. Every one watched to see what Caesar would do. His conduct surprised all men. In order to recon-

cile his honor and his interests, he repudiated his wife, — not that she was guilty, but because Caesar's wife, he said, must be above

<sup>1</sup> We have seen (vol. iii. p. 134) how he behaved in the army of Lucullus, his brother-in-law. For the following years, see his biography in Cicero (*De Har. resp.*, 20), who naturally paints him in the blackest colors.

<sup>2</sup> *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 19.



suspicion, — and he saved Clodius, obtaining for him from Crassus the loan of money with which to bribe his judges. Cicero, urged on by his wife Terentia, who interfered in everything, and was at that time especially desirous of engaging him in a quarrel with the Clodii, ruined by his evidence Clodius' plea of alibi, — a step for which he afterwards cruelly suffered. The Senate thought the suit was won. They had at the judges' own request provided them with a guard, and confided to the magistrates the duty of watching over their safety ; but in the urn there were found thirty-one acquitting votes against twenty-five condemnatory. "It was to protect your money, then," said Catulus to one of the judges, "that you asked us for a guard." — "You know that bald-pate (Crassus)," writes Cicero : "it was he who arranged it all. He promised, guaranteed, made presents ; bands of his slaves invaded the Forum, and all honest men retreated in a body."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the tribunal which pronounced the acquittal was in his eyes only "a house of ill-resort, which had never held such a set of rascals, — dishonored senators, tattered knights, and tribunes of the treasury as rich in debts as they were poor in cash."

Caesar, who had just repudiated his wife on the shadow of a suspicion, allowed himself much license ; but he made pleasure subservient to politics. It is not by mere chance that we find his mistresses in those houses where they could best help his designs, — Tertulla, the wife of Crassus ; Mucia, the wife of Pompey ; Postumia, the wife of Sulpicius, whom she brought into friendship with Caesar. There were many others also, and, most important of all, Servilia, Cato's sister, and mother of Brutus the tyrannicide. This person, a widow, entertained a strong and lasting affection for Caesar ; but unfortunately she had not the same influence over her brother and son, that Postumia had over her husband. Women at this time took part in public matters. It was a new thing, to which we have before referred, marking, with many other symptoms, the close of the old order of society, wherein a woman was never spoken of except to say, "She stays at home and spins."

The defeat experienced by the nobles in the affair of Clodius was a severe one, for it must be measured by the importance which both parties attached to it and by the effects it produced. In the Senate

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.* i. 16.



it was asserted that the judges had been bribed, and an inquiry was opened. The equestrian order took offence at this, seeing in it an attempt to expel the knights from their tribunals; and their displeasure was increased, when, some time afterwards, Crassus stirred up the publicans to ask for a reduction in the price of the farms in Asia, — a request which the Senate refused. Being already exasperated at the disgrace inflicted on the judges of Clodius, the knights haughtily separated themselves from the Senate; and the union of the orders, Cicero's constant aim, was gone.

Before the conclusion of the trial of Clodius, Caesar had set out for his government in Further Spain. He left behind him Crassus pledged to Clodius, and in open rupture with the oligarchy. He had attached the opulent ex-consul to himself by persuading the latter to be surety to his creditors for the sum of eight hundred and fifty talents (nearly a million dollars); and the knights looked with complacency on these men who defended their interests and their honor. Finally the proconsul of Asia arrived. He was coming, it was said, at the head of his legions to make an end of the Republic. But Pompey had neither the ambition nor the daring for this. Not knowing what to put in the place of the present government, he only intended to be its head, and for this he did not at the time think he had need of soldiers: his military fame would be sufficient. As soon, therefore, as he landed at Brundisium, he dismissed his army.



POMPEY,  
VANQUISHER OF  
THE PIRATES.<sup>1</sup>

This proceeding completely blinded the nobles. They believed themselves masters of the situation; and when Pompey asked to have the consular comitia delayed, in order that he might solicit votes in favor of one of his friends, Cato caused his request to be refused. Some time previously (63 B.C.), the Senate had granted Lucullus the triumph which he had for three years solicited in vain, and they had also lately authorized that of Metellus Creticus, thus saying to the people, "These are the true conquerors of Mithridates and the pirates."<sup>2</sup> Pompey had been deeply wounded at this. Nevertheless, in his first

<sup>1</sup> CN. MAGNVS IMP. Pompey, on disembarking, receives a palm from the hands of Victory. Reverse of a silver coin of the Podieian family.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey only arrived in Rome at the close of the year 62 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* iii. 181).

address to the people<sup>1</sup> he spoke without anger and with great consideration for all parties, and he even tried to win over Cato. This moderation, at a time when the Forum was accustomed to violent speech, was coldly received; and no one accepted Pompey in the character of supreme arbiter, which he seemed to claim. Towards the end of September he celebrated his triumph. It is probable the Senate were not willing to grant him more than two days. Certainly the ceremony lasted no longer, and enough objects remained to deck another triumph. There were carried in procession the jewels and engraved gems of Mithridates, his statue in silver, his throne and sceptre, thirty crowns of pearls, three golden statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, the golden bed of Darius, son of Hystaspes, then the tables

VICTORY (FROM THE VATICAN).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Prima concio Pompeii . . . non jucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatiss non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigeat* (Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Statue, in Grecian marble, with its back against a trophy, which must have served as a pilaster (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 636, No. 1442). The full-page engraving is taken from Roux (*Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. second series, pl. 120), and represents a triumphant general crowned by Victory, and seated upon a pile of arms. In the painting he is clothed in a blue tunic held up by a golden girdle: on his shoulders is a purple mantle. His red shoes are edged with gold, and ornamented with fur.



on which it was written that Pompey had subjugated twelve million men, taken eight hundred vessels, a thousand fortresses and three hundred towns, that he had founded or repeopled thirty-nine cities, poured into the treasury twenty thousand talents, and almost doubled the public revenue.<sup>1</sup> Medals struck in his name showed the globe encircled with laurel, and above it the golden wreath decreed to the conqueror of Africa, Spain, and Asia. He had distributed to each of his legionaries six thousand sesterces.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers of the Republic are already the mercenaries of the Empire.

But on descending from his chariot, in which he had appeared in the costume of Alexander, Pompey found himself alone in the city just now filled with his renown. Lucullus attacked him; the Senate was hostile to him; Cato asserted that he had had only women to fight against; even Cicero confessed that his hero of former days lacked dignity and elevation.<sup>3</sup> Of the two consuls, one, Metellus Celer, was his enemy: the other, Afranius, whose election to office he had paid for, was, Cicero says, a very non-entity, not knowing even the value of the place he had bought.<sup>4</sup> Pompey soon put his influence to the test. In the East he had disposed of crowns, had made and unmade kingdoms, and founded cities: in short, had ruled everything with sovereign sway from the Aegean to the Caucasus, and from the Hellespont to the Red Sea. The confirmation of all his acts was a point of honor with him; he asked of the Senate a prompt and general approval. Lucullus, supported by Cato, proposed to deliberate upon each act separately. Such a prolonged discussion, in which many checks were inevitable, would have been singularly humiliating to the man who in Asia had lately played the part of a King of kings: he rejected it. At the same time he asked the people, through the tribune Flavius,

<sup>1</sup> Eighty-five million draehmae instead of fifty million, or about fifteen million dollars instead of nine million (Plut., *Pompey*, 47). The triumph was celebrated on the 28th and the 29th of September, 61 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 6. After the deliverance of Modena, in 43 B.C., the Senate promised ten thousand, and the triumvirs gave them. The gratuities under the Empire did not usually amount to so much. As for the medal representing a globe wreathed with laurels, no specimen of it is known, and it was not the custom of the Roman monetary triumvirs to strike such types.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihil habet amplum, excelsum, nihil non summissum atque popolare* (*Ad Att.* i. 20).

<sup>4</sup> The money paid for his appointment had been distributed in the very gardens of Pompey, and the Senate ordered an inquiry (*Cic.*, *Ad Att.* i. 16).



for lands for his veterans. In the Forum as in the curia he encountered Cato and the consul Metellus. Things came to such a pass that Flavius had the consul dragged to prison. But the tribune's patron was ashamed of this violence. He yielded a second time, his heart deeply imbittered against the nobles who thus disgraced him in the eyes of his soldiers and of all Asia.

Then, according to one historian,<sup>1</sup> he repented having dismissed his troops; but it was too late. Repulsed by the nobles, he could resume the part of demagogue, for which he was so little fitted. But on the popular side the first place was already occupied: Pompey must be content to share it with Caesar, who had anticipated him there.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. xxxvii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1546 of the Catalogue.



WINGED VICTORY CROWNING A WARRIOR.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER LII.

### THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND THE CONSULSHIP OF CAESAR.

#### I. — FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (60 B.C.).

DURING the events recorded at the close of the last chapter, Caesar was far away in Hispania Ulterior, having obtained the government of this province after his praetorship (61 B.C.). He had celebrated his arrival by the remission of the taxes which Metellus Pius had imposed upon the Spaniards, and he had distinguished himself in civil matters by an arrangement of debts<sup>1</sup> and by the pacification of Gades, to which he gave better laws; in



CAESAR.<sup>2</sup>

military affairs, by expeditions against the Lusitanians of the mountains and the Gallaeci, whence he returned with the title of "Imperator" (June, 60 B.C.). He forthwith solicited a triumph and the consulship. These two demands were irreconcilable. To obtain the one it was necessary to keep the imperium, the lictors, and the military costume; that is to say, to remain outside of Rome, for at the city gates this authority and this display ceased: to apply for the other, a man must come in person seventeen days before the election, give in his name to the president of the comitia, and solicit votes in the Forum. Many a time had the

<sup>1</sup> The creditors, who were, for the most part, Roman citizens, were accustomed to obtain payment by taking forcible possession of their debtors' property. Caesar allowed them only two-thirds of the income till the debt should be cancelled (Plut., *Caesar*; Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 19).

<sup>2</sup> Laurel-crowned head. We do not know whether Caesar was authorized by the Senate to put his likeness on the coin, or whether he assumed the right himself. In any case, — since upon the pieces of money bearing the inscription COS TERT. DICT. ITER. of the year 46, and DIC TER of the year 45, his head does not yet appear, and that with DICT QVART of the year 44 it does not always appear, — we are led to the conclusion that it was during the year 44 B.C. that Caesar obtained or arrogated to himself this right, which has since remained a monarchical privilege.

Senate allowed generals to omit these prescribed formalities; but at the instance of Cato they now refused to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Between an affair of vanity and a question of power Caesar quickly made his choice. He gave up the triumph, sent away his lictors, and hastened to the Forum with the white robe of a candidate. Crassus and Pompey accompanied him and canvassed for him. How had this triple alliance been formed?

The complete defeat of Catiline, the disarming and humiliation of Pompey, the twofold victory over the people and their tribunes, lastly the exile, as it were, of Caesar to a remote province — so many successes had inspired the oligarchy with that confidence, which, to their final destruction, endues exhausted parties with a momentary energy. Cicero had already ceased to be their favorite leader. To the reserve and discretion of the cautious ex-consul, the Senate preferred Cato's blind zeal. But Cato, by his respect for ancient and obsolete laws, gained nothing, and compromised everything. "With the best intentions," wrote Cicero to Atticus, "Cato often does harm, for his sentiments are more suited to the perfect commonwealth of Plato than to the rabble of Romulus."<sup>2</sup> He had driven Metellus Nepos from Rome, caused the accusation against Clodius, and made the Senate refuse Pompey everything. After the election of Afranius (whose election Pompey had paid for) he had obtained a decree that all who took any part in such bargains should be declared public enemies, and he had energetically supported a new law of the tribune Lurco against bribery. After the trial of Clodius, and against the advice of Cicero, who was anxious that in any case the equestrian order should be treated with consideration, Cato had caused an inquiry to be made into the conduct of the judges. When the farmers of the taxes in Asia had asked for the cancelling of their agreements, Cato again, in spite of Cicero, obliged them to hold to their former contracts.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, in the debates raised by the agrarian law of Pompey, the publicans had refused their support to the Senate.

This time, too, the oligarchy had conquered; but it was only due

<sup>1</sup> At least Cato, to put off a decision, spoke till sunset, obliging the meeting to disperse (Suet., *Caesar*, i. 8; Dion. xxxvii. 54; Plut., *Caesar* and *Cato*). Ten years previously the Senate had granted to Pompey what it now refused to Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cato qui miseros publicanos . . . tertium jam mensem vexata* (Cicero, *Ad Att.* i. 18).



to the moderation of their foe. Accordingly, while the nobles congratulated themselves on having overcome everything, Cicero saw the storm gathering. "Not a man can be found," he said, "who pays the slightest attention to the interests of the Republic;"<sup>1</sup> and he prudently reefed his sails,<sup>2</sup> and prepared the way for a return to Pompey's side, supporting the agrarian law of Flavius with reasons which contradicted his speech on that of Rullus.<sup>3</sup> It was a fresh recantation. "But," wrote he, "since the acquittal of Clodius I know what dependence can be placed upon justice; I have seen, too, the *publicani* estranged from the Senate, and how our momentary victors, those great lovers of fish-ponds, no longer conceal the envy they cherish against me."<sup>4</sup> Then I sought some more solid support." And Pompey had welcomed him,—Pompey, whom he describes above, solemnly draped in his triumphal robe, at last spoke with approval of the famous consulship. Then how he treats his former friends, Lucullus, Hortensius, and all those great personages "who imagine themselves in heaven when they have in their fish-ponds old barbel trained to come and eat out of their hands!"

Unless the orator overdraws his portraits in order to excuse to himself his defection, such men were not very formidable; and the zeal and activity of the intractable Cato only increased the illusion as to their real strength. Quite recently a *senatus-consultum* had failed to become law, and Cicero had seized the opportunity to exclaim, "Of the two things which my consulship had established, the union of the orders and the authority of the Senate, one is gone, and every day helps to shatter the other."<sup>5</sup> Thus Caesar returned opportunely from his province. The Senate was at once feeble and threatening, Pompey was exasperated, Cicero discontented, and Crassus in full opposition.

Since the day when Caesar had dared to brave the all-powerful Sylla, he had said nothing and done nothing which was not in keeping with this first act of his life. The replacing of the trophies of Marius on the Capitol, the bringing to justice of the

<sup>1</sup> Πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὅτις *quisquam inveniri potest* (*Ad Att.* i. 18). And elsewhere: *Nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum* (*Ibid.* 13).

<sup>2</sup> *Contraxi vela* (*Ibid.* i. 16).

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.* i. 19.

<sup>4</sup> In their eyes, Cicero was never anything more than an upstart. See, in his letters, with what haughtiness Appius, his predecessor in the government of Cilicia, treated him.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Att.* i. 18.

dictator's hired murderers, the recall of the proscribed, the prosecution of extortioners, the restoration to the tribuneship of its rights, and the revival of hope in the people by the proposal of agrarian laws—all these things showed a fidelity to the opinions of his youth and of his party, which doubled the power given him by his eloquence as an orator, his attractions as a man, and his high birth. He therefore held a position at Rome which enabled him to treat as an equal with the most powerful rivals. His first care was to reconcile his old friend and his new,—Pompey and Crassus: to the one he promised to obtain for him from the people that which the Senate had not been willing to give him; to the other, to dismiss to their villas those leaders of the oligarchy who had relegated him to the second rank, and to restore to him that influence in the State which was due to his services.<sup>1</sup> All three pledged themselves to have their credit and their resources in common, to speak and act in all matters only in conformity with the interests of the association. The military renown of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Caesar, contributed to make this three-headed monster, as the triumvirate was called, a power which ruled the people, the Senate, and the whole government.<sup>2</sup> But each of the three triumvirs retained his own special schemes. Pompey saw in the union only a combination of influences, by which he was sure to be raised without any disturbance or revolution to the first place. Crassus foresaw the rivalry between his colleagues, and the facilities it would afford him for raising himself above them by making his support necessary to each. Caesar, for his part, aspired to that highest place which was the dream of all; but his plan was, first, by the united force of the triumvirate, to overthrow the aristocracy, which was a party, thinking that afterwards he could easily deal with Pompey and Crassus, who were only individuals. Then, being master of the Republic, he intended to undertake the reforms of which his grand intellect perceived the necessity,—reforms which he commenced as soon as he was in possession of the consulship (60 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> *Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat . . . viribus teneret Caesaris* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 44).

<sup>2</sup> *Τρικάρπας* (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 9). [This title was originally given to a scurrilous libel on Theopompus by Anaximenes of Lampsacus. Cf. Mahaffy's *Hist. of Greek Literature* ii. 248.—*Ed.*]

His two associates had undertaken to support his candidature. The nobles did all in their power to defeat it. They clubbed together to buy up the votes: even Cato thought that here the end justified the means, and furnished his share. When they saw that their efforts would be useless, they revenged themselves in advance for this election, which they could not prevent, by assigning as consular provinces only a care of woods and pasture-lands.<sup>1</sup> They hoped thus to reduce the future consul to a condition of powerlessness at the expiration of his term of office. But it was an imprudent and useless measure, and enabled Caesar to ask from the people reparation for the insult offered to the people's choice. Caesar was elected; but the nobles succeeded in giving him as a colleague Bibulus, who had long been his enemy.

## II. — CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP (59 B.C.).

THE new consul's first words were, however, conciliatory; he promised the Senate to propose nothing contrary to its prerogatives; he sought to effect a reconciliation with Bibulus; and he asked Cicero's advice. On taking possession of his office he ordained that a daily record of all the acts of the Senate should be regularly kept and published, in order to check secret intrigues by submitting the government to the censorship of public opinion.<sup>2</sup> A few days later he presented to the Senate the following law:<sup>3</sup> "In order to restore agriculture, and repeople the solitudes of Italy, the lands of the public domain shall be distributed among the poor. Those in Campania, where twenty thousand colonists shall be

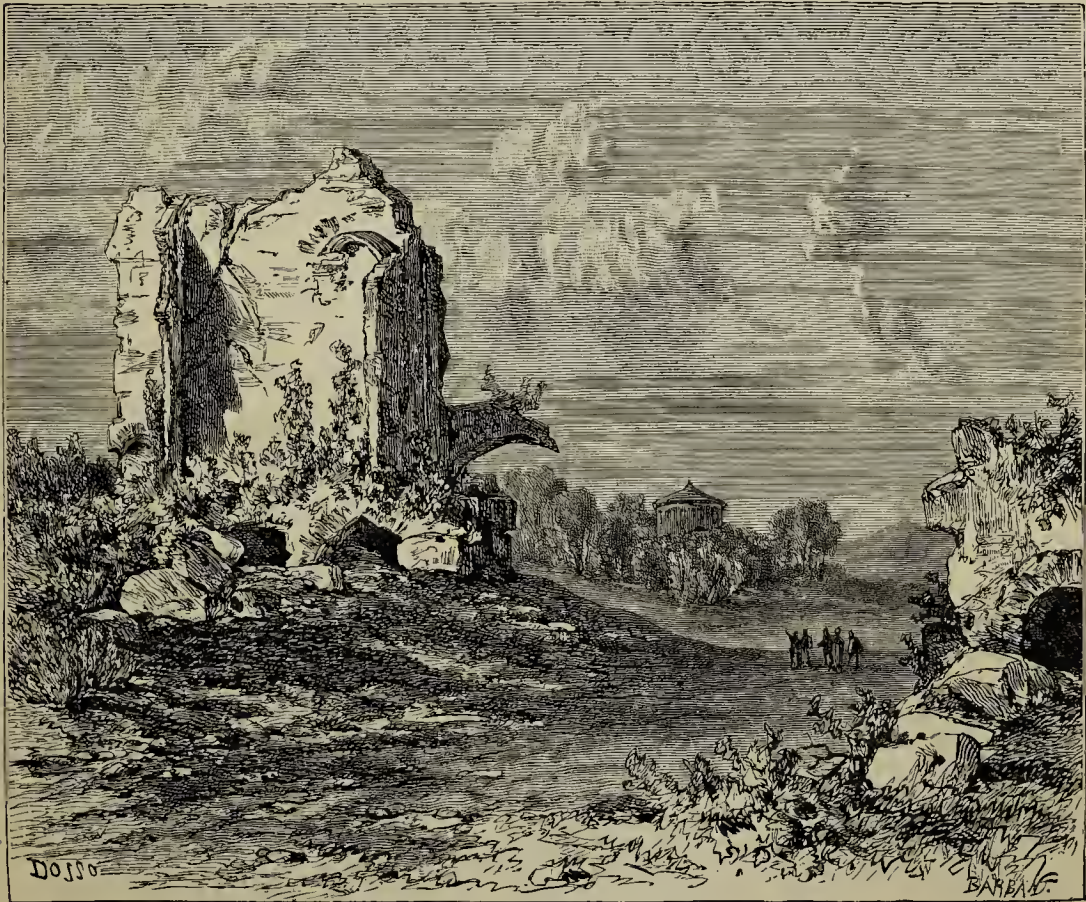
<sup>1</sup> . . . *Provinciae minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque* (Suet., *Caesar*, 19). These absurd provinces, however, suggest the idea that the Romans already concerned themselves about the preservation of forests.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 20. See Leclerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, who had supported, with modifications, the law of Flavius, which was not so well put together, and by which, said he, it was possible for *sentina urbis exauriri et Italiae solitudo frequentari* (*Ad Att.* i. 19.), offers but poor reasons against Caesar's proposal (*Ad Att.* ii. 16). According to him, the treasury would be ruined: *Portorii Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum, praeter vicesimum*; but he forgot the tributes of the provinces, which Caesar's law did not touch. He forgot, too, that the expenditure for the distributions of wheat to the people would be diminished if the famished masses at Rome became less numerous.



established, are to be given to citizens who have at least three children; and a rent shall be paid to the treasury for these concessions. If the public lands do not suffice, the money brought home by Pompey shall be employed to purchase private domains, with the proprietors' consent, at the price with which they were marked on the registers at the last census. Twenty commissioners shall direct the execution of this law." There was nothing to object to in this



REMAINS OF CICERO'S VILLA AT TUSCULUM.<sup>1</sup>

proposal, the wisdom and opportuneness of which recalled the first law of Tiberius Gracchus, with this difference, that Caesar declared he was not willing to be among the commissioners. In the time of the Gracchi, the aristocracy was all-powerful: it crushed both the law and the tribune. Now it was from the consulship, as in the days of Spurius Cassius, that the blow came; and the nobility had only Cato to defend them, for Cicero remained at his villas, that he might not be obliged to praise in Caesar what he had blamed in

<sup>1</sup> From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Rullus: fearing to speak, fearing to keep silent, he had fled far from the field of battle. "It is not the law I dread," said Cato, "but the price the people will have to pay for it;" and he spoke so violently, that Caesar, giving way to impatience, had him seized, and dragged to prison, the door of which was not shut upon him. Then the consul dismissed the Senate, saying, "I had made you the judges and supreme arbiters of this law in order, that, if any of its provisions displeased you, it might not be brought before the people till it had been discussed by you; but, since you are not willing to proceed to a preliminary deliberation, the people alone shall decide." It was a return to the Hortensian Law, which the Cornelian legislation had suppressed.<sup>1</sup> Driven by this refusal of co-operation to bring everything before the popular assembly, he rarely summoned the Senate.<sup>2</sup> The comitia, it is true, represented the national sovereignty, of which the Senate was but the high council; but to make the comitia everything was to displace the axis of government. Hitherto it had been in the curia: Caesar transferred it to the Forum. And yet scarcely twenty years ago Sylla had deprived the tribes of their legislative power.

On the day when he brought his law before the people, the scene between Gracchus and Octavius seemed about to be repeated; but Caesar carefully avoided the excess which had ruined the son of Cornelia. For a long time he begged his colleague not to oppose this act of justice, and, in order to make the nobles detested, he prevailed upon the people to add their entreaties to his own. "Though you should all clamor for this law, you should not have it," said Bibulus. Then Caesar, turning towards Pompey and Crassus, asked them what they thought of the proposal. Both praised it highly. "But, in case it is rejected by force, what will you do?" said he to Pompey. "If it is attacked with the sword, I will defend it with sword and buckler."<sup>3</sup> On hearing him speak thus, the nobles understood why it was they had seen the town filling with Pompeian veterans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xxxviii. 3. For the *Hortensian Law* see vol. i. p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Appian and Dion are wrong in affirming that he ceased to assemble the Senate; for he called them together several times, among other things, to make them swear to observe his law, and to declare Ptolemy and Ariovistus friends of the Roman people, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xxxviii. 45; Plut., *Caesar*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Pompey*, 49.



Bibulus, a man of narrow and stubborn mind, resisted to the last. On the day of voting, in spite of the threatening aspect of the Forum, filled with armed men, he came with Cato and Lucullus, and took his place near his colleague, only to declare that he "was observing the heavens," and that consequently all business must be suspended. But, as soon as he attempted to speak, Bibulus was set upon: he was thrown down the steps of the Temple of Castor, and forced to seek shelter in a neighboring house. Lucullus, too, narrowly escaped with his life. Two tribunes were wounded. Cato was twice driven from the rostra, twice made his way back to it. Finally, however, the law passed, and a plebiscitum compelled the senators, magistrates, and all who should in future canvass an office, to swear to observe it literally. Men remembered Metellus, and all took the oath, even Cato: one man only, Laterensis, chose rather to give up his candidature for the tribuneship. "He is highly appreciated," writes Cicero, who praises, but did not imitate him.<sup>1</sup>

This agrarian law was the first which had been passed for the last sixty years. Caesar, already heir of the popularity of Marius, was now to succeed to that of the Gracchi also. And yet the two other triumvirs had no right to take alarm; for he appeared to act only in the common interest. When he diminished by one-third the price of the taxing contracts in Asia, where the publicans had lost greatly during the war against Mithridates, it was, he said, to reconcile to the triumvirs the whole equestrian order,<sup>2</sup> now that the people were already won over. When he obtained the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East,<sup>3</sup> it was the pledge given by his colleague to the kings and peoples of Asia that he redeemed, as he had just fulfilled by the agrarian law Pompey's promises to his veterans. And finally, when he sold the alliance of Rome to Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt, for six thousand talents,<sup>4</sup> it was again in order that

<sup>1</sup> Dion, xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 12; Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii. 18. I do not speak of the pretended plot against Pompey's life, which Vettius denounced, and in which he implicated several important persons. It was doubtless an attempt to extort money, and was disposed of by strangling Vettius in prison. Dion (xxxviii. 9) does not hesitate to say that Vettius had been paid by Cicero and Lucullus to kill Caesar and Pompey; but Dion is fond of tragical stories, and changes doubt into certainty with great facility. Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 12) does not believe it.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 16; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Lucullus attempted to offer opposition; but he was threatened with an accusation on the subject of his immense property, and he became silent (Dion. xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Plut., *Pompey*, 13).

<sup>4</sup> Caesar, *Bell. civ.* iii. 107; Suet., *Caesar*, 54; Dion. xxxix. 12.



the prince might owe his crown to the triumvirate. He was only faithfully carrying out the treaty of alliance. But he that gives is much better remembered than he that promises; and Caesar, accomplishing what his colleague had not been able to do, reaped gratitude, or at least raised himself in public opinion. Pompey was under obligations to him. He even consented to lose the advantage of his seniority in age by becoming Caesar's son-in-law. This marriage added the bonds of relationship to those of politics; and in the family, as in the State, Pompey accepted the inferior place.<sup>1</sup> He himself did not perceive this, for he could not suppose that any one would presume to claim equality with him;<sup>2</sup> and Caesar avoided dispelling this idea. It was a custom at Rome, that, at the meetings of the Senate, he for whose opinion the consul had asked first should retain throughout the year this privilege, which was highly valued. Caesar had at first paid this honor to Crassus; but after Julia's marriage he intrusted Pompey with the opening of the debate, — a trifle which gratified the vanity of a man who desired to have the pre-eminence in everything.

Two laws of Caesar's consulship, — *De Provinciis ordinandis* and *De Pecuniis repetundis*, — which supplemented one another, remained the basis of legislation in the matter until the last days of the Empire.<sup>3</sup> Their object was the good administration of the provinces and the repression of extortion. Like all the young nobles of the time, he had made his first appearance in the Forum as the accuser of guilty governors; but he always remained faithful to the duties he had assumed towards the provincials, which others forgot as soon as they attained office. It had become clear to him that the time was come for rising above the narrow prejudices of the city, and that Rome owed to the world something besides incessant pillage.

The second of these laws had more than a hundred articles,<sup>4</sup> and it differed from similar earlier laws by greater detail and stringency.<sup>5</sup> It applied to all sorts of bribery at home or abroad.

<sup>1</sup> Julia was only twenty-three years of age, and Pompey was forty-eight. At the same time Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso. (Suet., *Caesar*, 21; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 11.)

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Et quod neminem secum dignitate exaequari volebat* (Caesar, *Bell. civ.* i. 4). *Neque . . . quemquam aequo animo parem tulit* (Vell. Paterc., i. 33).

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xlviii., the whole of section ii.; *Id.*, *ibid.*, L. 5, 3; and *Code*, book ix. section xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Caelius (Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8) cites article 101 of it.

<sup>5</sup> *Calpurnia* (149), *Junia* (126?), *Acilia* (101?), *Servilia* (100), *Cornelia* (81).

Accordingly, Cicero calls it "a law as wise as it is just, by which free nations at length truly enjoyed their liberty."<sup>1</sup> It regulated the expenditure of cities for the proconsul, his legates, and his quaestor, and it forbade all those voluntary gifts which men in power could so easily exact without asking for anything.<sup>2</sup> It increased the penalty against persons guilty of extortion, declaring them incapable of sitting in the Senate, or of appearing in court as accusers or as witnesses.<sup>3</sup> In order that proof against them might be easily obtained, the governors were obliged to leave a copy of their accounts in two of the most important towns of their provinces, and to deposit a third in the public treasury at Rome.<sup>4</sup> Hitherto an extortioner, when prosecuted, had been able to save his property by going into exile before the trial, thus putting an end to the suit. The Julian Law decreed, that in this case the property should be seized, even if it were already in the hands of the heirs, and be applied to compensate the injured parties. If it did not suffice, those who had profited by the abuse were condemned to complete the restitution. Finally it decreed that a governor should only remain two years in the consular, and one year in the praetorian provinces. Sylla had not allowed knights or plebeians to challenge more than three judges in their suits. The tribune Vatinius, one of Caesar's friends, obtained an equal right of challenge for accused and accuser, whatever their condition might be.

Lands for the poor of Rome, justice for the provinces, severity for venality, the evil which was sapping the Republic — such were the principal acts of Caesar during his magistracy.

What were the nobles doing during this consulship, so full of wise reforms? Cato was protesting in favor of abuses of which he took no advantage. Favonius imitated his complaints and even his gestures, and was the last to swear to observe the agrarian

<sup>1</sup> *In Pison.* 16, and *Pro Sextio*, 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic.*, *Ad Att.* v. 10, 16, 21; *In Pison.* 37. Caesar also occupied himself with the *liberae legationes*, one of the most crying abuses; but we do not know in what particular he modified preceeding regulations on the point (*Cic.*, *Ad Att.* xv. 11; cf. *Dion.* xliii. 25; *Cic.*, *Phil.* i. 8; *In Pison.* 86).

<sup>3</sup> *Suet.*, *Caesar*, 43; *Tac.*, *Hist.* i. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic.*, *Ad Att.* vi. 7, *Ad Fam.* ii. 17, v. 20. Gabinius, one of the most severe pro-consuls towards his subjects, had already, in 71 B. C., caused it to be decreed that all the sittings of the Senate during the month of February should be devoted to the examination of complaints brought to Rome by deputies from the provinces (*Cic.*, *Ad Quint.* ii. 13).

law. Lucullus had joined in the opposition to the consul; but a few words from Caesar upon his immense wealth, which, as spoil of war, belonged to the State, sent him back into silence and obscurity. Hortensius, disconcerted by his unlucky intervention in the affair of Clodius, had quitted politics, and devoted himself to the care of his lampreys. Cicero, who had been for a time led away by Pompey's advances and Caesar's smiles,<sup>1</sup> had soon retraced his steps. He was anxious to return to literature, to flee "to his native hills and the cradle of his infancy."<sup>2</sup> "When shall we live?" — *quando vivemus?* — he exclaims, and he invited Atticus to come and philosophize with him "under the shadow of Aristotle's statue." But he could not stay quiet: he travelled from Formiae to Antium, from Antium to Tusculum, restless, nervous, eager for news, circling round Rome without daring to enter it, and trying by partial overtures, by cautious confidences, to have the augurship offered to him to give him an excuse for re-appearing on the scene. It is the sad spectacle of a noble mind unable, when its hour is past, to give up either power or the applause of the multitude.<sup>3</sup>

As for the Senate, it seemed no longer to exist; one of the consuls summoning it but rarely, and the other, by the proclamation of a *justitium*, having forbidden it to assemble. Bibulus, in order to taint the acts of his colleague with illegality, had declared all the days of his consulship to be *feriae* (sacred days, on which no work could be done). But religion was a worn-out tool; and this opposition in the name of long-lost beliefs only caused a smile. The wits named this year the consulship of Julius and of Caesar.

Not being able to wage serious war, his enemies made a war of epigrams against him. Bibulus, shut up in his house, launched against his colleague edicts "in the style of Archilochus," in which the accusation of having been the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline were among the least insults.<sup>4</sup> The nobles

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Att.* ii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. xxxviii. 8; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Suet., *Caesar*, 20. I do not in 1880 strike out this sentence which I wrote in 1843, which is true for certain men. I content myself with adding that Cicero could, better than any man, find in his rare literary faculties the means of forgetting the attractions or disappointments of political life by fixing his gaze on things both higher and more remote.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Caesar*, 49; Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 19–22. Cicero did not talk openly of these calumnies; but he propagated them quietly in his private letters. At Rome, indeed, men readily



extolled their champion to the skies; but Cicero, jealous of the stir made about an inactive consul, maliciously remarked that his method of attaining fame was a new one. As for Caesar, he left his foes this last consolation of the vanquished. Pompey reconciled himself to it less easily: on the 25th of July he ascended the rostra to speak against these edicts of Bibulus. "His appearance was so mean and humiliating," writes Cicero, "as to excite the commiseration of every observer, and to mortify even himself."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere, with naïve pride, the orator allows himself to say: "I have been tormented with fear lest Pompey's services should appear to posterity greater than my own. That anxiety is gone, he has fallen so low."

Caesar's laws were excellent. By refusing to co-operate with him, and to associate themselves with his plans, the oligarchy had committed the last capital mistake, that which precedes great catastrophes and is their cause. Caesar at that time desired reforms, not a revolution, and his reforms might perhaps have saved the Republic. Ten years afterwards it was too late, for the reason that the aristocratic government, instead of employing these ten years in delivering themselves from the evils which were undermining them, employed the time only in seeking means to deliver themselves from Caesar. The nobles counted upon their idle *senatus-consultum* concerning the province set apart for the popular consul for being soon rid of him. But the people, whose affection he had retained<sup>2</sup> by an uninterrupted succession of games, spectacles, and largesses,<sup>3</sup> did for him what they had already done for Marius,

cast at their enemies the accusation of being publicly and shamelessly immoral. Suetonius, who collected all these tales, says that Caesar stole three thousand pounds of gold from the Capitol, and replaced them with gilded copper. But we possess a proof of the falseness of this accusation. Cicero does not mention it, and he would not have failed to do so frequently, if the thing, incredible in itself, had really taken place.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Ibid.* ii. 21.

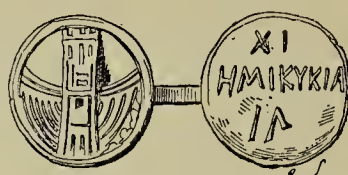
<sup>2</sup> The "unpopularity of popular men," as Cicero calls it, has been too easily credited. It was Curio and the young nobles, not the people, who launched forth the sarcasms of which Cicero speaks, and the latter is even driven to confess that there was much more spite than force in it all: *Magis odio quam praesidio* (*Ad Att.* ii. 19). It must be noticed, too, that it was Pompey, not Caesar, who was scoffed at and insulted.

<sup>3</sup> *Σκοπὸς* est, ut suspicor, illis qui tenent nullam cuiquam largitionem relinquere (*Cic., Ad Att.* ii. 18). Suetonius (*Caesar*, 20) says almost the same, and in both cases the remark is without foundation; for Crassus, Lucullus, and Pompey had also given many games and largesses: it was an obligation on men of distinction to do so, and nothing particularly remarkable was observed in these festivals of Caesar's consulship.

Lucullus, and Pompey. On the proposal of the tribune Vatinius, they replied to the derisive *senatus-consultum* respecting the proconsular provinces by bestowing upon Caesar, by the Vatinian plebiscitum, the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for five years with three legions.<sup>1</sup> This law was most skilfully put together in the interests of Caesar; for it gave him, with a con-



THEATRICAL TOKEN (TESSERA).

THEATRICAL TOKEN (TESSERA).<sup>2</sup>

siderable army, a province of which he had constituted himself patron,<sup>3</sup> and one which, being in proximity to Rome, daily received the news of the Forum and the curia; but it was also most useful to the Republic, just now threatened by a formidable war on the other side of the Alps. Cato paid no heed to this danger. In his great republican fervor and his hatred against Caesar, he had exclaimed, "It is tyranny you are arming, and you are placing it in a fort above your heads." But the senatorial majority, more patriotic in the face of the State's peril than the oligarchic faction, at Pompey's solicitation added to the popular gift a fourth legion and a third province, Gallia Narbonensis, at that time in great danger; and Caesar's command in that province was to be for at least as long a time as that fixed by the plebiscitum.

These prolonged commands were in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution. The proconsulship had been called into existence three centuries before with the express object of securing

<sup>1</sup> Pompey's veterans had come to vote for this Vatinian Law (Suet., *Caesar*, 22). Pompey himself insisted on having Transalpine Gaul given to Caesar (Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3): *Ille Galliae ulterioris adjunctor*. With Caesar gone, he thought that he should be left master.

<sup>2</sup> The theatrical *tesserae* were tokens answering to our tickets. Those here given are of ivory, and artistically worked. The one represents an amphitheatre with its *vomitoria*, and in the middle a *pegma*, a kind of tower on which combatants were placed. The inscription on the reverse denotes the place assigned to the bearer of the *tessera* (IA, eleventh hemicycle). The place assigned by the other ticket, AICX, denotes, perhaps, the last place (*αἰσχροῦ* or *αἰσχιότου*) the one farthest removed from the places of honor, and reserved for the lowest class and slaves (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. second series, pl. 134).

<sup>3</sup> He had just sent thither with the title of citizens five thousand colonists, who established themselves at Como (Strabo, V. i. 6; Suet., *Caesar*, 28). The southern boundary of Cisalpine Gaul passed south of Lucca and Ravenna. Ariminum, a short distance from the Rubicon, was only thirteen hundred and fifty stadia from Rome, and Lucca scarcely farther.

for a consul the time to complete his military operations. Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompey had recently held it longer than the period granted to Caesar, and the people and Senate were quite right in resorting to a precaution customary in times of danger. The Allobroges, who had been, as they thought, very insufficiently rewarded for the conduct of their ambassadors in Catiline's conspiracy, had just ravaged Gallia Narbonensis. This rising had caused little uneasiness; but the Germanic invasion, which had been arrested forty years before by Marius, was recommencing. The mass of tribes settled in the upper basins of the Danube and Rhine, and in the valleys of the Alps, were in a state of confused restlessness. Already the Suevi, the most dreaded people of all Germany, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand, had forced their way into Gaul, north of the Roman province, the frontier of which they touched; and four hundred thousand Helvetii were preparing to traverse it in arms, so that Southern Gaul, and consequently Italy, lay exposed to an invasion as dangerous as that which had penetrated to the neighborhood of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae.<sup>1</sup> The Suevi were in fact only the vanguard of that barbaric world, ceaselessly attracted towards the world of civilization; and the country abandoned by the Helvetii was soon to be occupied by warlike tribes, which from the heights of the Alps would cast longing looks upon the rich plains of Gallia Cisalpina. For the moment these invaders, masters of the valleys of the Rhine and Saône, seemed to threaten merely the east and centre of Gaul; but the avidity of those who were ready to follow them was enough to make the former change their course; and at Rome the memory of the terror caused for ten years by the Cimbri and Teutones, was ever present. The Vatinian plebiscitum, therefore, was not one of those thoughtless favors sometimes bestowed by the people upon their leaders. It was desirable for the public interest that the guarding of the whole northern frontier should be confided to one general, and that that general should have time enough before him to prepare his plan of defence, as Marius his uncle had done, and to carry it into execu-

<sup>1</sup> Caesar says this (*De Bello Gallico*, i. 33): . . . *quum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent*. A senatus-consultum of 61, of which we shall speak later, shows, by the precautions taken in Gallia Narbonensis, that the Senate was very uneasy about that quarter.



tion. The alliances concluded by Caesar in Noricum<sup>1</sup> prove that he fully realized the importance of his commission. He took precautions on that side to protect the eastern gate of Italy against an attack from the Gallic Pannonians, whilst he defended the outposts in the west against their brethren of Gallia Transalpina.

The equal duration of the two governorships has been disputed: that of Narbonensian Gaul was shorter, it is said, than that of Cisalpine; but the practical sense of the Romans would not have made any difference, especially when the true danger was on the banks of the Rhone. The Senate, which was then in a fair way to a reconciliation with Caesar, could not have done it; and Pompey, who upheld in the Forum the plebiscitum for Cisalpine Gaul, and gave his utmost support in the curia to the senatus-consultum for the Narbonensis, no doubt insisted that the conditions should be alike. Indeed, Velleius Paternulus, Appian, and Plutarch affirm that they were so.<sup>2</sup>

We have another proof that the senators were swayed by the energetic and far-seeing will of Caesar, even after the expiration of his consulship. As soon as he had resigned the fasces, two praetors attempted to invalidate his acts: he demanded that the question should be at once discussed in the curia. Cato's friends made a great disturbance, and for three days there were violent altercations; but the Senate refused to allow the institution of a regular debate.<sup>3</sup> One of the tribunes also proposed to summon him before a court of justice; but his colleagues opposed their veto,—a double intrigue, doubly illegal, for the senators had been compelled by a plebiscitum to swear to observe his principal law; and no action could be brought against a magistrate while he was in office; which immunity Caesar possessed, being a proconsul at the expiration of his consulship.

Warned by these ill-timed attacks, he resolved to avert their repetition and their effects by causing the urban magistracies to be given every year to friends disposed to guard him against a surprise.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Patern., ii. 44: . . . *tum Caesari decretae in quinquennium Galliae.* App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν. Plut., *Cato*, 33: . . . ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα στρατιᾶς εἰς πενταετίαν.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec illo suscipiente* (Suet., *Caesar*, 23).

“Several swore an oath to him,” says Suetonius, “to prevent his being accused during his absence, and some renewed the engagement in writing.”

Among the senators apparently so well disposed towards Caesar, there were doubtless some who counted upon a barbarian's sword to free them from their formidable adversary. Pompey, without any evil purpose, thought that Caesar's absence from Rome for five years would leave him most of the real profits of their partnership, — a preponderating influence in Rome, and that place of supreme arbitrator which was sufficient for a man who had more of the vanity than the ambition of power. Caesar reckoned otherwise. Two opposite examples, the sad end of the Gracchi and the success of Sylla, had shown that nothing could be done without an army. In order to have an army, a province was needed, a successful war, and spoil. Gaul was rich and formidable: it lay at the very gates of Italy. A war against that hated race, whose name recalled the sad story of the Capitol ransomed with gold, would almost be witnessed from Rome; the noise of victory would re-echo through her streets, as if the battlefield were close at hand. Caesar thought that after he had gained military fame equal to that of Marius, Sylla, and Pompey, he should use it better than they had done, by giving the Republic that organization which for the last century she had been seeking amid civil wars and proscriptions. Was there more ambition than patriotism in these ideas? Many see only the former motive in Caesar's conduct: I firmly believe that the latter must also be added.

### III. — CLODIUS, EXILE OF CICERO (58 B.C.).

BEFORE his departure, Caesar caused the consulship of the year 58 to be conferred upon Piso, his father-in-law, and Gabinius, a friend of Pompey, with the rich governments of Macedon and Syria for their proconsular year. He had made out the list of consuls who were to succeed them, and to keep watch with Pompey and Crassus over the maintenance of the Julian Laws during his absence. Finally Pompey, placed at the head of the commission for the

agrarian law, remained at Rome with an indefinite authority which could not but appear formidable to the enemies of the triumvirate.

Among the dismayed aristocracy there were now but two men who caused any uneasiness. Cato was a source of anxiety, because the populace loved those rude virtues which they no longer possessed, and those demands for a liberty for which they had ceased to exert themselves. He was more popular in Rome than Pompey, almost as much so as Caesar; but it was a popularity which arose from curiosity rather than from confidence. His dress, his language, his life, were interesting, like a picture of past ages, though no one thought of imitating him. There was no reason to fear that such a man would ever lead the people to any act of violence against their present masters. Yet his opposition was an annoyance, and it was resolved to get rid of it. Cicero was more dangerous, because, living more in the present than Cato, and knowing it better, he demanded less, and ran a chance of obtaining more. His eloquence, too, might bring about unexpected results, and he had lately, on his return to Rome, completely broken with the triumvirs. "If I am driven too far," he had said, "I shall be quite able to resist the oppressors." Moreover, Clodius claimed him as a victim, and Caesar reckoned on Clodius to keep Pompey and the Senate in check during his absence.

The law required a man to be forty-three years of age before he could obtain the office of consul; but through the tribuneship a position of influence was much more quickly attainable: Clodius, therefore, was desirous of becoming a tribune. But he was a patrician, and his adoption by a man of another order would deprive him of his rank: he did not hesitate, however, but brought forward as his adoptive father an obscure plebeian, younger than himself. Neither Pompey nor Caesar had at first cared to support this turbulent and ambitious man, whom they were not sure that they could control, like Vatinius, at their will. But, in an action brought against C. Antonius, Cicero had seen fit to speak ill of the triumvirs.<sup>1</sup> That very day the adoption was decided upon, and Pompey officiated at it as augur.<sup>2</sup> Cicero took alarm, and retired to the country,

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Pro Domo*, 16; Suet., *Caesar*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3. Pompey was unfortunate in the choice of his friends. Thus he raised up Clodius, who did him so much harm, just as he had helped on Caesar's fortunes: *quem in rempublicam aluit, auxil, armavit.*



hoping by silence to make amends for the energy of his words. His manœuvre proved successful, and the triumvirs made fresh advances to him. Among several means of attaining an object, Caesar always chose that which agreed best with the kindness of his nature. Wishing to remove Cicero from Rome, or else to attach him to his own cause, Caesar had successively offered him a free legation, one of the twenty places of land commissioner, and, lastly, the rank of lieutenant in his Gallic army. After long hesitation, Cicero had refused them all; and Caesar, though with regret, abandoned him to the resentment of Clodius.

MINERVA WITH THE NECKLACE.<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of December, 59 B.C., this scion of the Claudii took his seat on the bench of the plebeian magistrates. As usual, the public treasury bore the cost of the new tribune's popularity; a *lex frumentaria* abolished the moderate price which the poor had paid for the wheat supplied from the public granaries.<sup>2</sup> A second law forbade any magistrate to break up the

<sup>1</sup> Statue from the Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *Descript. des Ant.* No. 522). Necklaces are very rare in ancient sculptural monuments, and this example is perhaps unique among good statues. Phidias had put a necklace on his Athene, of which our Minerva may be an imitation.

<sup>2</sup> This bounty diminished the receipts of the treasury by a fifth, says Cicero (*Pro Sextio*, 25).

comitia on pretence of consulting the heavens, to the end that no one might attempt to renew the strange opposition of Bibulus.<sup>1</sup> A third law re-established the ancient corporations<sup>2</sup> recently suppressed by the Senate (in 64?), which the tribune hoped to use for his own purposes; lastly, he diminished the power of the censorship, which had so often been a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy. For a name to be erased from the roll of the Senate



CYPRUS (VIEW OF NICOSIA AND THE CERINIAN CHAIN).<sup>3</sup>

or the equestrian order, it was henceforth necessary to have a formal accusation, an examination, a defence of the accused offered in person or by an advocate, and, lastly, the agreement of both censors in pronouncing a verdict.<sup>4</sup> It was the substitution of a trial with regular formalities for a sentence without any argument in court; and, since party spirit had replaced the true spirit of government in the Senate, the measure was a good one. It will be remembered that Catiline's principal accomplices were senators

<sup>1</sup> This was the reversal of the *lex Aelia Fufia* (Cic., *Pro Sextio*, 15). In point of fact the conduct of Bibulus had been only a scandalous abuse of a right formerly useful.

<sup>2</sup> *Collegia restituit* (Cic., *In Pison.* 4; *Pro Sextio*, 25, xxxviii. 13).

<sup>3</sup> A. Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, in the *Mém. de la Soc. de Géologie*, second series, vol. vii. pl. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Ascon., *In Pison.* 4.



and knights degraded by the censors: it may be that many were driven into the opposition, and thence into sedition, by unmerited disgrace.

All these preparations had but one object, to render the tribune master of the field whereon the true question was to be decided,—that of exile of the leaders of the aristocratic party. He began with Cicero, and proposed this law: “Fire and water shall be forbidden to any man who has caused the death of a citizen without trial.” Cicero was protected by a *senatus-consultum*, and, in delivering up Lentulus to the executioners, he had only carried out an order of the Senate. But in those unhappy times laws had no other force than that which they borrowed from the man or party whose work they were. Cicero did not even think of bringing forward these decrees in his defence; he put on mourning; he implored the assistance of the triumvirs and consuls: and a number of knights and senators entreated the people to save the man whom the people had named “Father of his Country.” All was in vain. Before the votes were given, Cicero quitted the city. He hoped by this voluntary exile to disarm his enemies, and prevent a condemnation; but on the morrow Clodius caused sentence to be declared: Cicero was not to approach nearer Rome than four hundred miles (April, 58 B.C.). At the moment of his departure Cicero had caused his most beautiful statue of Minerva to be carried to the Capitol, and had there consecrated it in the Temple of Jupiter, with this inscription: “To Minerva, Guardian of the City, *φυλακίδα*.” Was this a genuine impulse of devotion, awakening in the midst of his misfortunes? Or was it not rather a harmless revenge, designed to recall to the people of Rome that it was the wise goddess who had inspired him with the resolution they now condemned,—a resolution which five years earlier had saved them? He himself assigns the first motive;<sup>1</sup> but his constant thought of himself and of the famous consulship leads us to believe in the second.

Cicero was a victim of the *coup d'État* accomplished by the senators in 63 B.C.; and the law which struck him down had that retrospective character which sound politics condemn, but which is

<sup>1</sup> *De Legibus*, ii. 17.



not always displeasing to factions. The second of the Gracchi had set the example of it,<sup>1</sup> and had commenced the era of revolutions. Pompey afterwards imitated Clodius, and his law was one of the causes of the Civil war.

Cato gave no opportunity for an accusation. But Clodius induced the people to send him to Cyprus for the purpose of reducing that island to a province, and bringing back the treasures of the king.<sup>2</sup> In order to prolong this exile, Clodius added the duty of going into Thrace to bring back the Cypriots who had been exiled to Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> Cato obeyed; and now Caesar was free to depart.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. xxxviii. 30; Plut., *Cato*, 39. "The Romans appropriated the inheritance of a living man and the confiscation of a prince in alliance with them" (Montesquieu, *Gr. et décad.*). But this prince had formerly offended the all-powerful tribune by sending Clodius only two talents for his ransom when he had been taken by pirates. Cato carried out his commission with such rigor, that he boasted on his return of having brought back more gold than Pompey. He poured the whole of it into the treasury, and did not retain a single drachma (Plut., *Cato Minor*, 45).

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Pro Domo*, 20.

<sup>4</sup> KOINON KYΠPIΩN ("the polity of the Cypriots"). The Temple of Venus at Paphos with her emblem (the conical stone) and the doves of the goddess. Coin of the Island of Cyprus.



COIN OF CYPRUS.<sup>4</sup>

## CHAPTER LIII.

### GAUL BEFORE CAESAR.

#### I. — PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

IN all ages man inquires whence he comes and whither he is going. Philosophy and religion undertake to answer the second of these questions: history attempts to elucidate the first by clearing away the darkness which envelops his origin. Since the course of our narrative leads us into Ancient Gaul, let us pause for a moment to study the nations which first began its civilization. This we have done for Italy: we may fairly undertake to do the same for France.

In the geological ages, Gaul had experienced all kinds of climates, from intense colds to torrid heats, and possessed all kinds of fauna. The giant mammoth, the great elk with its enormous horns, the reindeer, and the great cave-bear inhabited it when the Alpine glaciers, passing beyond the Jura, stretched to the Rhone, and those of the Pyrenees spread far into the lower valleys. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the ape, the lion, lived there in the time when the country had an African temperature.

Five or six thousand years ago, however, when Babylon was building her temples, and Egypt her Pyramids, Gaul had the temperate climate which it still retains, and was nothing but one great forest.<sup>1</sup> From the higher regions of the mountains came down the dark army of pines; on the slopes and in the valleys, the oak, the elm, the beech, the maple, and the birch; in damp plains, the willow; in gloomy spots, the gigantic box, and the yew with its poisonous juice,<sup>2</sup> were crowded together. The granitic soil of

<sup>1</sup> Before the Roman Invasion, says M. Belgrand (*Le Bassin parisien aux âges pré-historiques*, p. 139), France was covered with thick forests, and even the soil of Champagne was carpeted with brushwood.

<sup>2</sup> At least the Gauls regarded it as a poison. [It is so for cattle. — *Ed.*]

Auvergne<sup>1</sup> was covered with alders; and the hills of the Limousin country, with chestnut-trees.<sup>2</sup>

In the shadow of these vast woods wandered the wild ox,<sup>3</sup> which no longer exists except in the forests of Lithuania, and



ELK MAGACEROS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).<sup>4</sup>

numberless herds of wild boars, which fed on the acorns of the oak-forests. On the banks of the overflowing rivers, which were far greater then than they now are,<sup>5</sup> the beaver built his dams,

<sup>1</sup> Arvernia, from the Gaelic *ar* ("the"), and *vern* ("alder"). Cf. A. Maury, *Anciennes forêts de France*.

<sup>2</sup> Among the exotic plants of Gaul, Pliny mentions the chestnut-tree; but this tree is indigenous in the temperate regions of Europe.

<sup>3</sup> The urus or bison of Europe still exists in the Caucasus (?) and Livonia, where it is provided with food during the winter. [The *Bos primigenius*, on the other hand, the short-horned ancestor of the domestic cow, is preserved in Lord Tankerville's park at Chillingham, on the Scottish border, where there is still a herd of about seventy in a wild state. — *Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> [The cut hardly exaggerates the horns, which might be twelve to fifteen feet from point to point. Many specimens are found in the Irish bogs. These specimens have the reindeer shovel at the root of the horn, showing the climate to which the animal was suited. — *Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> The channel of the river Vanne, now about thirty-six feet wide, was once over three thousand feet in width, according to M. Belgrand (*Op. cit.*).



and the bee made its comb undisturbed in the hollow trees.<sup>1</sup> In the mountains the bear, in the plain the wolf and the lynx, were the real masters of the country. Man, however, had already been there for a long time,<sup>2</sup> and the caves have preserved his remains, his arms, and even his arts, — spear-heads of split flint and quartz



VERY ANCIENT STONE AXES FOUND AT SAINT ACHEUL.

(the axes of Saint Acheul), tools and hunting-implements, carved bones, other bones pierced to serve as instruments of music, reindeer-horns bearing scratched designs, etc. (See pp. 224–227.) This was the stone age. Of these first-born of Gaul we know nothing.<sup>3</sup> The ancestors of the present race were at that time living their nomadic life in a far distant land.

<sup>1</sup> Hydromel, made with water and honey, was one of the favorite beverages of the Gauls (Diod. v. 26).

<sup>2</sup> He inhabited Gaul during the whole quaternary (post-tertiary) period, and “probably lived on the borders of the tertiary deposits” (De Quatrefages, *L’Espèce humaine*).

<sup>3</sup> A new science, anthropology, the generalizations of which are premature, ventures to insist that the skulls found in the most ancient deposits are brachycephalous, or almost round (ratio of eighty-five to a hundred between the two diameters, transverse and longitudinal),

Until very recent times, it has been only through Greek and Roman authors that anything could be known of the origin of the



MANUFACTURED OBJECTS: CAVE OF PÉRIGORD<sup>1</sup> (P. 75).

French people. When the Romans arrived in Gaul they found there three or four hundred tribes, belonging to three great families,—the

whereas the more modern, or Aryan skulls, are dolichocephalous, that is to say, elongated (ratio between the same diameters less than seventy-five to a hundred).

<sup>1</sup> 1. Fragment of reindeer-horn carved in relief, hollowed out at the extremity to serve as a spoon for marrow (Museum of Saint Germain). 2. Bone bodkin (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*). 3. Arrow-head or harpoon of reindeer-horn (Museum of Saint Germain). 4. Harpoon of reindeer-horn, cave of Bruniquel (Tarn-et-Garonne) (*Ibid.*). 5. Harpoon of reindeer-horn, very prominent barb (*Ibid.*). 6. Bone needles (*Ibid.*). 7 and 8. Bone needles (*Ibid.*). 9. Harpoon of reindeer-horn (*Dict. arch.*). 10. Spear-head of reindeer-horn (Museum of Saint Germain). 11. Canine tooth of reindeer bored artificially to serve as an ornament. 12. Cowry-shell bored artificially to serve as an ornament (*Dict. arch.*). 13. Scallop-shell artificially bored (*Dict. arch.*). 14. Canine tooth of wolf artificially bored (Museum of Saint Germain). 15 and 16. Incisor of ox bored and slightly notched (*Ibid.*).



Celts or Gauls, the Belgae, and the Iberi or Vascones. But whence had they come? Rome neither knew nor cared. In those days the question of origin was easily settled by deciding that nations had sprung from the soil which bore them. The Druids boasted of being the children of Gaul. In modern times men have been more



MANUFACTURED OBJECTS IN BONE, FLINT, AND HORN (CAVES OF AURIGNAC).<sup>1</sup>

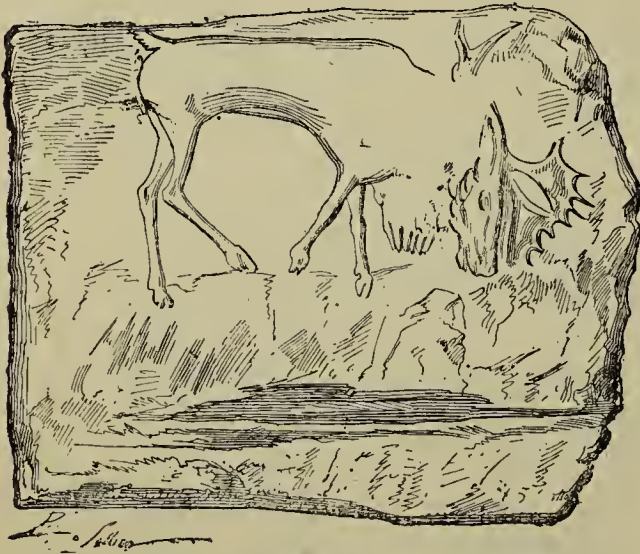
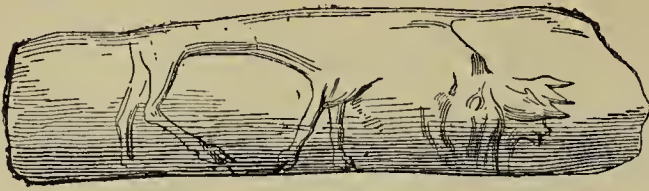
curious; but their search was long in vain. Comparative philology has at last solved the problem.

The fathers of the French race at first inhabited the plains of Upper Asia, together with the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, speaking a common language, and perhaps already possessing the germ of the sacerdotal corporation of Druids, as the other two nations possessed those of the Brahmins and the Magi. At some

<sup>1</sup> Objects in the Museum of Saint Germain, discovered and designated by Édouard Lartet.  
1. Disks of cockle-shell. 2. The same disks strung to form a necklace. 3. Silix implement for scratching and piercing. 4. Pounding or crushing tool, of dioritic rock. 5. Horse's car-bone pierced, for an ornament. 6 and 7. Arrow-heads of bone, cleft at the bottom. 8. Handle for a tool, of deer's horn. 9. Bodkin of reindeer-bone. 10. Polishing-tool, made of a rib of the wild ox, or horse. 11. Canine tooth of cave-bear, strung for an ornament.



unknown epoch the Celts separated from their Asiatic brethren; they set forth westward, and went in that direction as long as there was any land to occupy.<sup>1</sup>

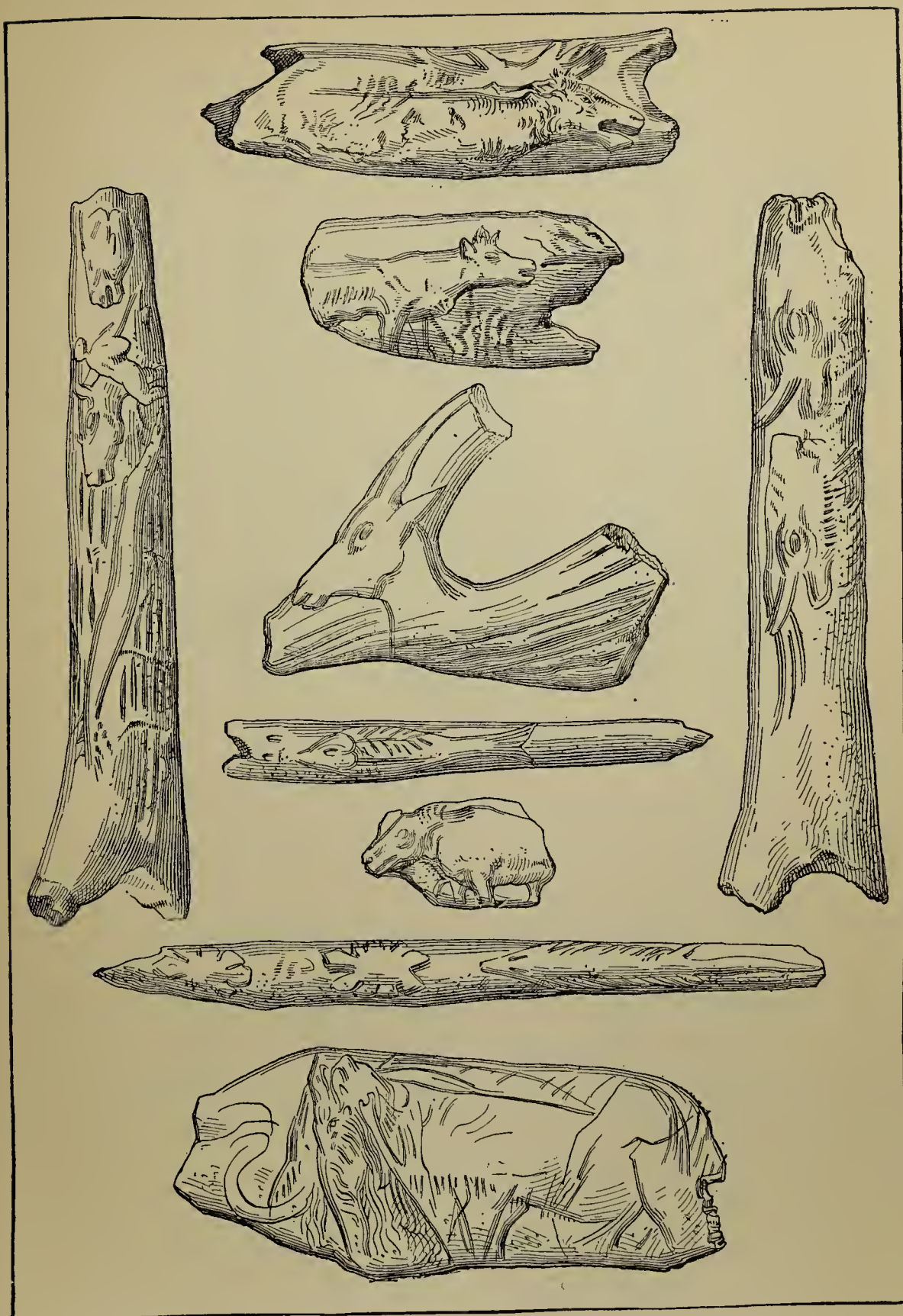


DRAWINGS ENGRAVED UPON REINDEER-HORN  
(MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN), P. 227.

Europe, like Gaul, was at that time covered with virgin forests, wherein, had not full rivers intervened, the squirrel might have passed from the Ural to the ocean without ever touching the ground. The Celts, coming from the steppes of Upper Asia, where they had by turns suffered from the extremes of heat and cold, plunged resolutely into the unfathomable depths of these vast forests, halting per-

haps, where the trees were thinner, to sow a little rye or oats, which they had brought from Asia, and leading with them the ox and the horse, which the most ancient nations were able to

<sup>1</sup> M. Ad. Pictet of Geneva, in his book on the primitive Aryans, which is a sort of linguistic paleontology, has already settled what was the primitive abode of the Aryans, what were their migrations towards the west, and what relations existed between the Celts, who set out first, and the Pelasgians or Graeco-Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs, who followed them. He shows what the state of these Aryan tribes was before their separation, how they already cultivated the plants which form the basis of our agriculture, employed the help of our domestic animals, and were acquainted with the use of metals. He has even made investigations as to what their ideas and social organization may have been. *Explanation of the Drawings on p. 227.* — 1 and 2. Front and back of a piece of reindeer-horn, on which are engraved a man, horses' heads, a serpent, and heads of oxen. 3. Fragment of reindeer-horn, having a reindeer engraved on one of its surfaces. 4. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (These three objects are in the Museum of Saint Germain, which also possesses a cast of the three following ones.) 5. Rod of reindeer-horn with ornaments and a lizard, or the skin of some animal (British Museum). 6. Fish engraved on a rod of reindeer-horn (British Museum). 7. Mammoth, or *Elephas primigenius*, engraved on an ivory slab (*Musée d'hist. nat. de Paris*). 8. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone (British Museum). 9. Wild goat engraved on the fork of a reindeer-horn (Collection of Édouard Lartet). (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule, époque celtique*, vol. i., *Cavernes*.)

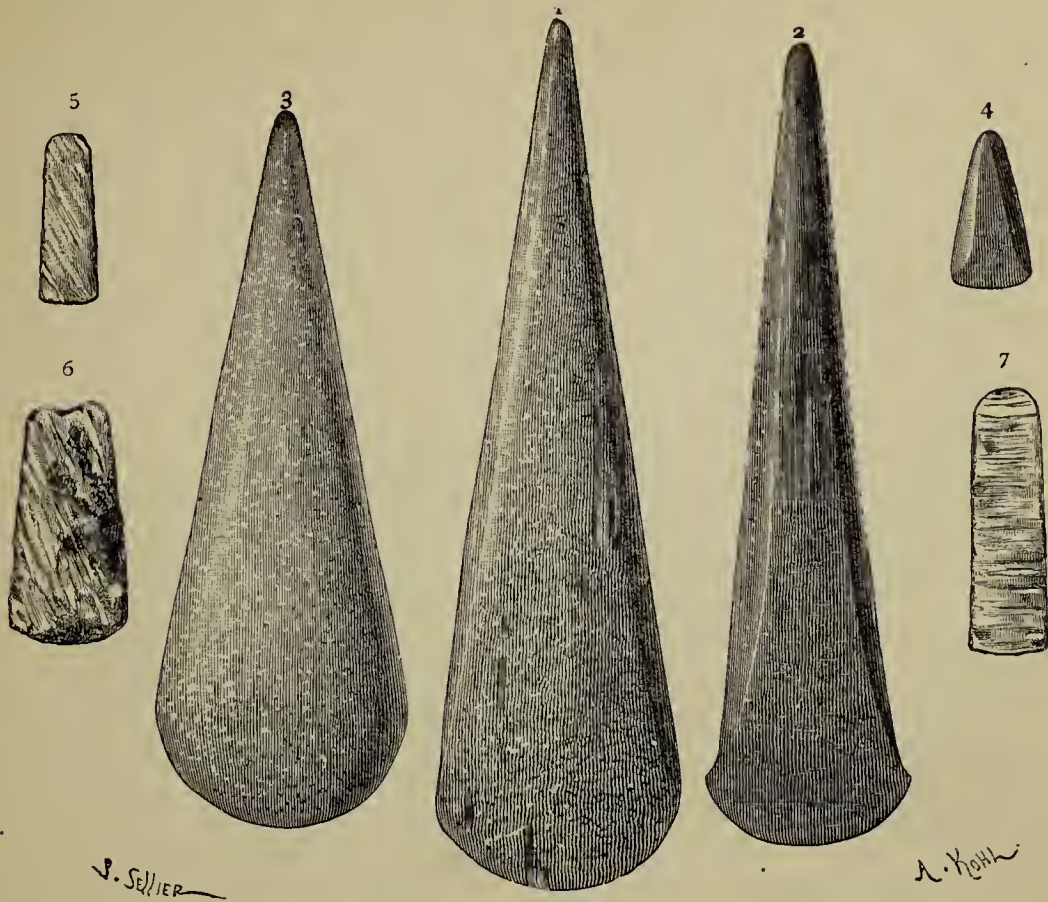


MANUFACTURED OBJECTS: CAVES OF PÉRIGORD (DICT. ARCH. DE LA GAULE).





domesticate, also the dog, the sheep, the goat, and the common



AXES OF POLISHED STONE.<sup>1</sup>

fowl, which were already reduced to the domestic state, and the pig, the flesh of which, cooked in coarse earthenware pots, con-



FLINT ARROW-HEADS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

tinued to be their principal food. In later times the wild boar became the symbol and the standard of the Gallic nations.

<sup>1</sup> 1, 2, 3. Axes of chloromelanite, from the dolmens of Morbihan (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint Germain). 4. Axe of jade (Museum of Saint Germain). 5, 6, 7. Axes of febrolith, from the dolmens of Morbihan (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint Germain).

With their axes and knives of smoothed stone, sharpened on a grindstone or polisher, with their flint-headed arrows and harpoons of reindeer-horn, they lived by hunting and fishing, like the American Indians; but they did not, like them, always return to the accustomed wigwam. Their hunting-grounds extended ever wider.

They were, in truth, the “men of the forests,” Kelts<sup>1</sup> as the Greeks called them.



MILLSTONE.<sup>2</sup>

By dint of wandering, and crossing rivers and mountains, at last they came to the shores of the great sea which bounded the west. From one point on its coasts they saw high cliffs, showing white on the horizon, and were eager to reach these also. Thus the great island which flanked Gaul became their domain: they only halted, when, from the western promontories of Scotland and Ireland, they saw before them nothing but the immensity of the ocean. They could go no

farther: the long journey begun in Bactriana was at an end.

Of this journey they preserved no memory whatever, and believed themselves sprung from Gaul; but, in proof of their Asiatic origin, they retained a language akin to Sanscrit,—the sacred language in which the religious books of India are written.

This language of the Celts is not lost. It has a literature, poems, and legends, and is still spoken in the heart of Brittany, in Wales, in the north of Scotland, in the mountains of Ireland, and, until lately, in the Isle of Man and in Cornwall. Those who use it are the last representatives of that ancient people. Thus do a few fragments still existing attest the greatness of an ancient monument which has fallen; but even these fragments diminish day by day. In France there are not three hundred thousand Bas-Bretons who understand and speak the dialect of the Druids. The Celtic language recedes

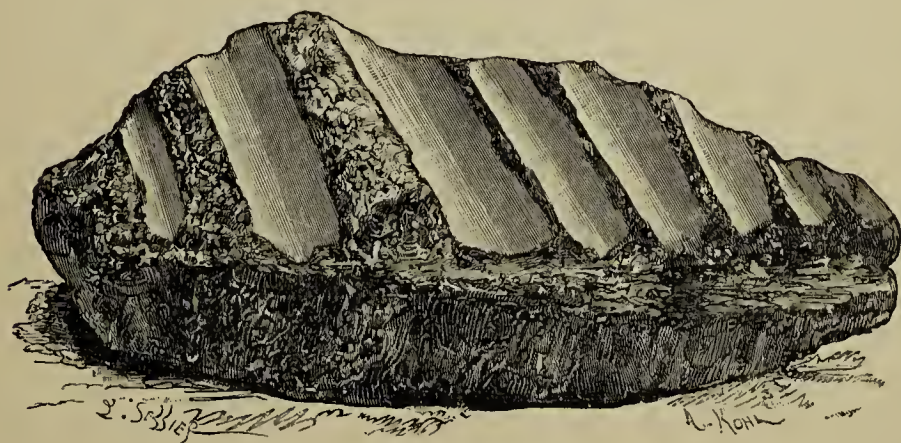
<sup>1</sup> In Gaelic *koille* (“forest”).

<sup>2</sup> Grindstone of polished sandstone, found in the Gallic cemetery at Chassemy (Aisne) (Museum of Saint Germain).



before the French: the elementary school, the regimental school, and trade wage against it a deadly war.

The Celts appear in classic authors about the close of the fifth century before our era; but this is no proof that the nation had not long existed in Gaul, where it formed the second stratum of the population and the second period of history, — the age of polished stone, of megalithic monuments and pile-constructions, or lake dwellings. From this period date the dolmens and covered passages, tumulary constructions which have been found in eleven hundred communes of



POLISHER<sup>1</sup> (P. 230).

France, and have suggested a new science, which questions the dead, or rather their appointments, well named by the Italians “the science of the tombs.”

After a long interval came the main body of Gallic tribes akin to the Celts, who had started much later from Asia, and brought with them a more advanced civilization. Having first established themselves in the valley of the Danube, in the neighborhood of rich and civilized countries, — Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, — these Gauls made numerous incursions thither, and from time to time we come upon objects which they obtained in those distant expeditions: at Rodenbach, near Speyer, a piece of Etruscan pottery; in other places, bronze vases, tripods, and jewels, which perhaps were taken at the sack of Clusium.

Pursuing their way westward, they crossed the Rhine and the Jura, drove back the first Celts before them, and covered Eastern

<sup>1</sup> Of polished sandstone with veins of jasper: Department of Vienne (Museum of Saint Germain).



Gaul and the south of Germany with innumerable tumuli. This was the third age, — the age of metals.

A distinction has been made between the Celts and the Gauls, or Galatae.<sup>1</sup> We shall not discuss special questions of ethnology in this rapid summary, which is only intended to show the general physiognomy of the nations which Rome conquered. Gallic archæology, a new science, has made rapid progress; but it is still in course of formation, and the historian can only make use of sciences which are complete, or sufficiently advanced to have solved the most important problems. But from the work already accomplished we may conclude that the great antiquity of man in Gaul may be considered beyond doubt; also that of the megalithic monuments, which have long been called Druidic, but whose existence in very many parts of the globe has now been established; also the Aryan origin of the Celts and Gauls and of their language; the succession of different civilizations upon French soil, or rather the progressive development of manufacture, extending from the clumsy flints of Saint Acheul to the arms and implements of bronze, and especially of iron, of the tumuli; and, finally, the long occupation of the Danube valley by the Gauls. For anything further than this it is best to await the evidence to be derived from the Museum of Saint Germain,<sup>2</sup> where the objects found in numberless researches carried on by an army of scientific men are now accumulating. Meanwhile we may adhere to Caesar's words about the inhabitants of Central Gaul: *Qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur*.<sup>3</sup> These words are not true for the whole chronological series; but they were for Caesar's time, and that alone concerns us here.

On arriving in the country which was to retain their name, the Gauls found some unknown peoples, whom they exterminated or enslaved, and some Iberian tribes settled between the Loire and Rhone and the Pyrenees. These latter, the Basques, are the despair of modern erudition. No one has ever yet discovered the road by which the Iberi entered Europe; and their language is not an evident

<sup>1</sup> On this question, see, in the *Journal des Savants* of 1875, a paper by M. Maury, who does not admit the distinction proposed by M. Alexandre Bertrand.

<sup>2</sup> [As well as from those of Copenhagen, of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and of Pesth, where so many traces of incoming tribes are collected. — *Ed.*] See in vol. ii. p. 494, the megalithic monuments at Sigus in Numidia.

<sup>3</sup> *De Bell. Gall.* i. 1.

derivation from any known tongue. In Gaul they were called Aquitani; in Spain, Iberi: they called themselves the Eskualdunac. Did they come from Africa by way of the Straits of Gibraltar? or did they traverse the continent from the heart of Asia, leaving some of their race in the Caucasus, which also possesses an Iberia? No one knows. Some authorities having found in the Euskara language certain affinities with the Ougro-Tartar dialects, and particularly with those spoken from the north of Sweden to Kamtschatka, have believed that a wave of invaders, kindred to the Mongol race, spread over Europe before the Celts, and that the Basques are the last survivors of this invasion in Western Europe. The Celts first, and, after that, the Germans, must have made their way through this earlier population, flinging off the fragments on either side, — on the south-west towards the Pyrenees; on the north-east, towards the polar sea.<sup>1</sup> If such was the route by which the Iberi came, they arrived at a very early date in the region where we now find them. Antiquity already noted in them that brown complexion, spare frame and short stature, which a long sojourn in sun-scorched lands produces. The Gaul never possessed these physiological characteristics, or else had lost them beneath the thick, dark vault of the woods. In that damp, cold atmosphere he had come to resemble the man of the north, with slender figure and light hair, but therewith that lymphatic temperament which will not long maintain the same effort. Eager at the outset, the Gauls quickly wearied.<sup>2</sup>

There were long struggles between the two races. The Eskualdunac were driven from the banks of the Loire: they could not even hold out against Gallic impetuosity in the central mountains, and recrossed the Garonne. But, with the Pyrenees in their rear, they offered a resistance over which the invaders were unable to triumph. Leaving to the Iberi the rugged valleys whence they afterwards

<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis has been much impaired by the recent researches of M. Gustave Retzius.

<sup>2</sup> Anthropologists are disposed to admit that the primitive Aryan type, and consequently the Gallic too, had a dolichocephalous head, light hair, and blue eyes. Our chestnut-haired Gauls must be a mixed race, arising from a crossing with the ancient dark-complexioned inhabitants. The excavations made formerly in the caves of Périgord brought to light several skeletons belonging to a tall and vigorous race. Among them was one of a young woman, who, having been wounded in the forehead by the stroke of a flint dagger, must have survived the wound for a month, as was proved by the repairs which Nature had commenced in the bone.

swept down and won back the plain as far as the Garonne, the Celts crossed the Pyrenean chain, and overran Spain as far as Cadiz; and there was a time when the name *Celtica* applied to the immense territory which extends from the shores of the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube.

When the reaction of the Iberian tribes took place, two Gallic nations, the Tectosages and the Arecomici, held their ground in the

basins of the Garonne and the Aude. The former intrenched themselves at Toulouse, the latter at Nismes; and these places became two powerful cities.

Celts commingled with Germans had remained on the right bank of the Rhine; they, in turn, crossed the great river, and advanced along the "misty sea" as far as the mouth of the Seine: these were the Belgae, who ruled between the Marne, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Between Celt and Belgian there was no essential difference; the transition from one of these groups to the other was made insensibly; but the farther one went towards the north-east, the more apparent became the German character and barbarism. The great mass of Belgae were mainly of the Celtic race; and the latter were



TYRIAN HERCULES.<sup>1</sup>

certainly our ancestors. Nineteen-twentieths of the French are descended from the Gauls.

<sup>1</sup> Bronze in the British Museum (Clarac., *Musée de Sculp.* pl. 785, No. 1966). This statue, found in Phœnicia, on the site of Byblos, and brought into England in 1799, resembles the figures of Hercules upon Syrian coins, to a degree that marks the statue as a representation of the Tyrian Hercules, Baal-Melkarth.



Two nations, of a very different origin and civilization, — the Phoenicians and the Greeks, — came to add a little foreign admixture to the Gallic blood. The bold navigators of Tyre and Carthage, who so early explored all the Mediterranean coasts, also visited the mouth of the Rhone. At first they contented themselves with a few bartering transactions with the natives, then, obeying that instinct of invasion which led them to cover with colonies the coasts of Africa, Sicily, and Spain, they advanced into the interior of the country. The legendary story of the labors of the Tyrian Hercules conceals the real history of the travels and establishments of the Phoenician race in Gaul. The god, says tradition, came from Spain to the banks of the Rhone, where he had to fight a terrible combat. His arrows were exhausted, and he was about to yield, when Jupiter succored him by causing a shower of stones to fall from heaven, which furnished the hero with fresh weapons. These stones may still be seen: they cover the immense plain of the Crau, whither the Durance brought them down from the Alps. The victorious Hercules founded the city of Nîmes near this spot, and, in the heart of Gaul, the town of Alesia. The valley of the Rhone being thus conquered for commerce and civilization, the hero resumed his way towards the Alps; and the gods beheld him cleaving the clouds, and rending the mountain-peaks. It was the Col di Tenda that Hercules laid open, and the road from Italy into Spain that he thus made across the Alps. Thus, in the remote ages, men loved to attribute to the invincible arm of some god or hero the long efforts of many generations.<sup>1</sup>

The legend of the Tyrian Hercules says too much when it asserts that the Phoenicians founded cities in the interior of Gaul; but it does not say enough of the numerous colonies of that people along the coasts of Languedoc and Provence, nor of the voyages of those daring sailors across the stormy seas of the west. Coasting Spain and then Gaul, they reached the Island of Albion, and perhaps the Cimbric peninsula, going thither in search of amber, “tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon their brother.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the Phoenician colonies in Gaul, see E. Desjardins, *Géogr. hist.* etc., vol. ii. p. 133 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Apoll., *Argonaut.* iv. 610. The tragie end of Phaëthon and his sisters is represented on several ancient monuments. In the bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, next page,

The Phoenicians had preceded the Greeks in the supremacy of the Mediterranean, but were supplanted by them. The Rhodians established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone, whilst the colonies or factories of the Phoenicians in the interior fell into the hands of the natives. Towards the year 600 B.C. came the Phocaeans, who founded Massilia. The Greeks place a graceful legend at the beginning of this town. A Phocaean merchant, named Euxenus, landed, it was said, on the Gallic coast, at some distance from the mouth of the Rhone. It was the territory of Nannus, the chief of the Segobrigii, who received the stranger well, and invited him to the feast given on his daughter's betrothal. Custom required that the young virgin should herself go and offer a cup to the man among her father's guests whom she chose for her husband. At the close of the repast she entered, holding a full cup, and passed around the table where fair-haired young chiefs tried to arrest her glance. But it was fixed upon the stranger with the dark eyes and the proud and intelligent features. This Southern beauty, which was unknown to her, captivated the child of the North, and she handed the cup to the Greek. Nannus accepted his daughter's choice. He gave the Phocaean for her dowry the territory adjacent to the bay where the new-comers had landed. There Euxenus laid the foundation of Marseilles. The story is said to come from Persia; but it was worthy of being repeated by the Greeks, and preserved by us.

The new city grew rapidly under the protection of the powerful chief of the Segobrigii. But Comanus, his successor, felt differently towards it. One day, when a great feast was announced, Comanus sent word to the Massaliots, that he wished to pay honor to their gods; and he sent wagons into the town, covered with foliage beneath which there were hidden armed men. He himself drew near the gates with his warriors, and there lay in ambush. A woman had

the Eridanus, under the figure of an old man, receives the rash youth amid his waves; behind them is Amphitrite, holding a dolphin; near her are Jupiter or Pluto, and Juno, the divinities who presided over air and fire; Earth lies near, holding in her arms three children, the personifications of the three seasons of the ancients; on the left, Cyenus, Phaëthon's friend, is weeping his death; before him is a swan, to call to mind that the son of Apollo was metamorphosed into that bird; finally, the sisters of Phaëthon are changed to poplars, notwithstanding the prayers of their mother, Clymene, who was the cause of her son's death. His horses, in charge of the Dioscuri, occupy the upper part of the picture. (Clarae, *Descript. des ant.* No. 766A.)





FAIL AND DEATH OF PHAËTHON (SEE P. 235, NOTE 2).





founded the town: another woman saved it. The daughter of one of the Segobrigii, being in love with a Phocaean, disclosed the plot. The Barbarians, taken by surprise, were slain, and Comanus himself perished. But from this there resulted continual wars, which would at length have exhausted the strength of the Massaliots but for the arrival of unexpected help. An immense horde swept down from the north to cross the Alps. Their leader, Bellovesus, took the part of Marseilles, and inflicted such losses on the Ligures, that for a long time they were unable to disturb the Phocaean city. Moreover, in 542 B.C. it received numerous re-enforcements. When Cyrus



THE STONE OF ANTIBES.

and his Persians subdued the Greeks of Asia Minor, the inhabitants of Phocaea, rather than obey him, abandoned their town, and cast into the sea a mass of red-hot iron, swearing never to return to Phocaea till that iron should rise burning to the surface of the waters: they then set sail for their thriving colony among the Gauls. Marseilles prospered by her alliance with the Romans, who kept down all rivals of her commerce. In gratitude she gave them entrance into Gaul, and it was for her protection that they formed their first province.<sup>1</sup>

There remains to us a curious souvenir of those distant ages, which scarcely suggests the masterpieces that Greek sculpture was already producing. It is a stone which might be taken for a common pebble but for the inscription it bears, announcing it to be the representation of the son of Venus.<sup>2</sup> The first idol that

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 522 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, vol. xxxv. of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1874. This stone, found near Antibes in 1866, and similar to those adored in Asia, is the most ancient

Greece raised in the country of Druidic stones is a wave-worn pebble. Like a child who endows with life everything he touches, and takes a piece of wood for a man, the peoples of early times did not require the form to answer to the conception: they embodied an idea in a stone, and it became a god.

## II. — THE GAULS.

THE Gauls have often been pictured as morally a very superior race. They have been praised for "courage and loyalty, religious faith and love of liberty, vivacity of intellect, an aptitude for literature, keenness for ideas and for novelties, and sensibility in regretting the past; and sometimes a readiness to give up an unsuccessful struggle." This is a charming sketch, but it is very doubtful whether our yellow-haired warriors, with their violent and brutal passions, would have recognized it. It would have been foolish to trust their loyalty too far. While it is but justice to own that they were brave and lovers of liberty, these were qualities to be found everywhere. The Druids possessed great influence among them; but have priests never ruled elsewhere? Their keenness for ideas and new things of all kinds may well astonish us, for they long lived near Greek and Roman civilization without adopting anything from it; and the Galatae, who for six centuries were established in the heart of Asia Minor, still remained true Gauls. The aptitude for letters attributed to them on account of a few

monument of Greek civilization in Gaul. M. Heuzey puts it as far back as the fifth century before our era, and translates the inscription thus: "I am Terpon" (the local name of Eros or Amor), "servant of the august goddess Aphrodite. May Cypris reward with her favor those who placed me here!" M. Heuzey continues, "It was long since the Greeks had been reduced to adore mere rude stones. But a persistent attachment to the most primitive forms of worship through all the advances of art is, so to say, a law of the history of religions. It was not till after the time of Pericles that the Amor of Praxiteles and that of Lysippus were placed side by side with the coarse pebble to which sacrifices were offered in the Temple of Thespieae. It was not till the time of Pausanias, that is to say, till the Roman Empire was in full sway, that men thought of consecrating in the Temple of Orchomenus, along with the three stones that had been adored during the whole Hellenic period, the group of the Graces such as Greek sculpture conceived it. And, moreover, the creations of art were only offerings, ornaments of the sanctuary, which in no way diminished the religious prestige of the true idols, the shapeless fetiches consecrated by tradition."



rhetoricians, perhaps of Italian origin, whom Gaul sent to Rome, seems too hasty praise. What shall be said, then, of the Spaniards, who made an epoch in Latin literature in giving to it Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, and Martial, or of the African population whence sprang Terence, Apuleius, Tertullian, and S. Augustine? Regret for the past is one of the common sentiments of human nature, part of the poetry of the heart; and discouragement after defeat is one of the usual characteristics of savage life. But it does not, however, appear that perseverance was lacking in the nations and chiefs who maintained the great war of independence.<sup>1</sup>

Let us quit these theories, and proceed to facts. French patriotism is not interested in concealing the fact that our ancestors were veritable barbarians, very brave, very quarrelsome, great slayers of men, and celebrating Homeric feasts when they could: in the main, very similar to barbarians of all ages, for the reason that the barbaric condition is much the same everywhere when the geographical conditions are identical.<sup>2</sup> Only the early Gauls were indebted to their long travels, and still more to their settlement in a country situated at the extremity of the line of Asiatic migrations, for a particular character. Look at the sea: far out the wave is long and smooth; on the shore, where it ends, it produces a heavy surf. Our Gauls, settled on the utmost boundary of the continent, and ceaselessly stirred up by fresh hordes of peoples, underwent a long struggle, which rendered them brave, and were sometimes obliged to yield up their lands, which compelled them to go in search of others, and gave them a taste for adventures.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote at Rome in the time of Augustus, represents the Gauls as of tall stature, with fair skin and light hair. This portrait is not descriptive of the French race of our time, now very mixed, and living under different physical conditions; while it would suit the Scandinavians and a great part of the Germans.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of *race* has in this century had a brilliant but dangerous success in science, politics, and war. Under the various influences of geography and history, and by the union of frequently heterogeneous elements, we have seen nationalities take form, grow, and assume a distinctive character, which has rightly been called national spirit. But I acknowledge that I know nothing of the mysterious fairy, who, bending over the cradle of new-born races, endows them with good or bad qualities which they are forever to retain.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lubbock and Hartmann have found almost identical habits among the savages of Australia and Africa.

"Some of them," says the same writer, "shave the beard; others allow it to grow; the nobles wear long mustaches. They take their meals seated on the skins of wolves and dogs. Beside them, on broad hearths, are steaming caldrons, and spits on which enormous quarters of meat are roasting. The brave are honored by being offered the choicest morsels. Every stranger who happens to arrive is invited to the meal, and only after the repast do they ask him who he is and what he wants. Then there follow long stories; for the Gauls are curious to hear as well as to see. But these feasts are often stained with blood: words give rise to quarrels, and, as they despise life, they challenge one another to single combat.

"Their aspect is terrifying: they have loud, rough voices, speak little, and express themselves enigmatically, affecting in their speech to leave the greater part to be guessed." The French of our time have not retained this moderation in words; but it is found among the American Indians, who feel that they disgrace themselves if they speak otherwise. Diodorus adds, "They are fond of employing hyperbole in boasting of themselves, or depreciating others." This is another characteristic, which applies to very many barbarians and not a few civilized nations.

The ancients had a great dread of the Gauls, who, surrounding on the north and west the countries of Graeco-Latin civilization, had many a time sown terror and death broadcast among them. "A violent race," said they, "who make war on mankind, nature, and the gods. They shoot arrows against the sky when it thunders; they take arms against the tempest; they march sword in hand upon the overflowing rivers, or the ocean in its wrath." Strabo called them a frank and simple people, among whom each feels the injuries done to his neighbor, and that so keenly, that all promptly assemble to avenge them. It was an excellent disposition, but one which they shared with all the warrior tribes, who make common cause in bloodshed and injury.

The Romans, men of the South, wore only the tunic, a simple woollen shirt, and the toga, which enveloped the whole body, while leaving the limbs free, and formed a protection against the sun, like the burnous of the Arabs. With its broad folds and the hundred ways of wearing it, the toga is essentially the costume of art. Quite different was the dress of the Gauls,—breeches fitting

tightly on the legs, which they called *braccae*; for the upper part of the body a tunic of various colors, and over that a *sagum*, or broad band of cloth, which reminds one of the Scotch plaid, and was employed for the same uses: thick in winter, light in summer, it was fastened on the shoulder by a clasp or buckle. The *sagum* might hang loosely; but the rest of the costume, fitting closely to the body, was appropriate to the country; the Roman toga would at once have been torn to tatters in the thickets, nor would it, besides, have been any defence against the dampness and cold of the climate. Their *gallicae*, or wooden-soled shoes, were in like manner superior on their muddy soil to the sandals made for the solid, dry ground of the great Roman highways.<sup>1</sup>



STONE AXES FOUND AT SAINT ACHEUL.<sup>2</sup>

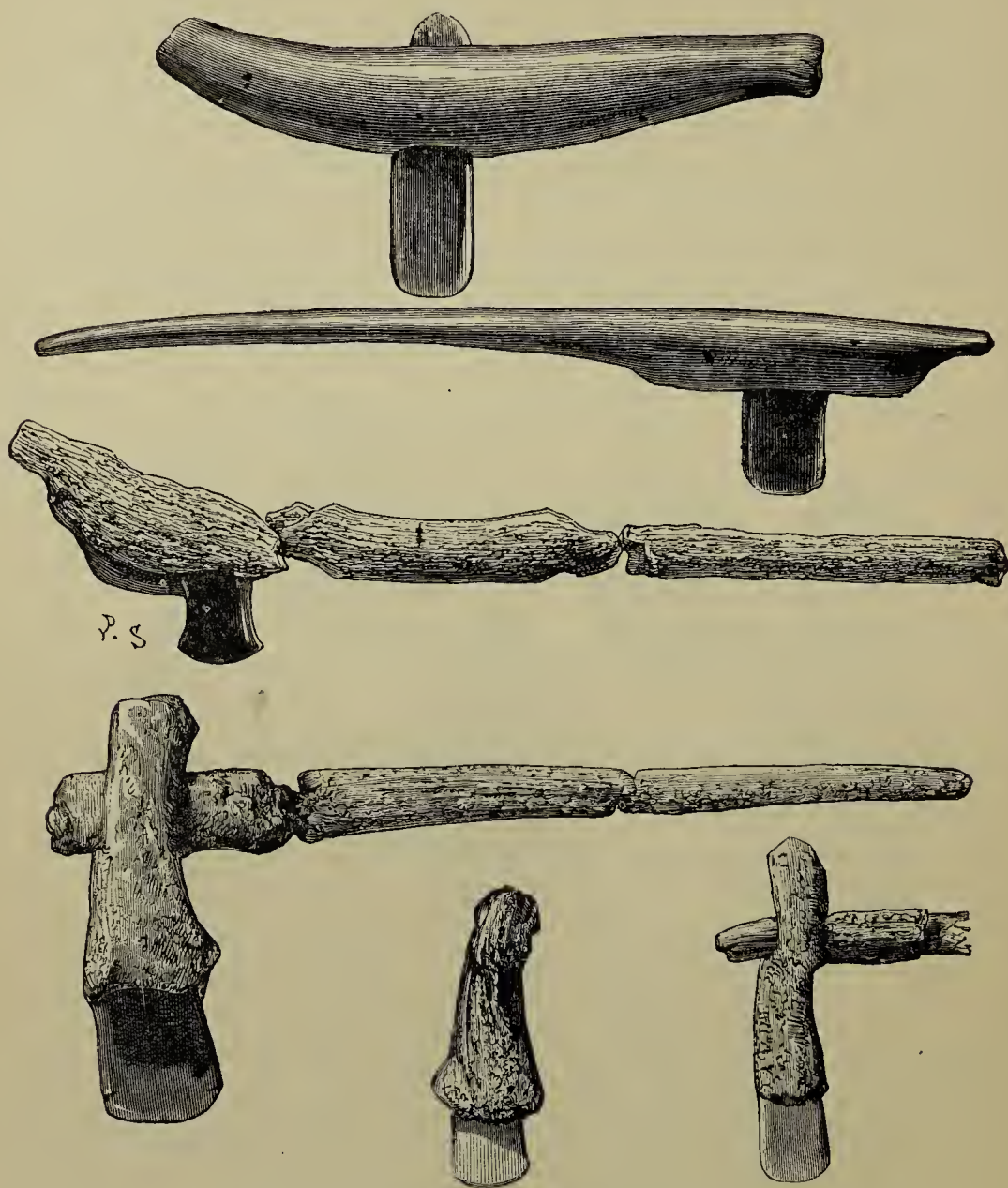
Their dwellings were at first natural caves, or the *gourbis* of the Algerians,—round huts formed of boughs, and covered over with kneaded clay or turf, with a hole in the top for the smoke,

<sup>1</sup> The modern civilized costume resembles, with some slight difference, the dress of the Gauls. Our trousers answer to their *braccae*; our waistcoats, to their tunics. The *sagum* has been transformed into a coat, for the middle classes; but it remains in the blouse of French workmen and peasantry, who still wear the Gallie shoe, and have even retained its name, *galoche* (*gallicae*). The Gauls sought for the useful, because their climate did not permit of their adopting the beautiful. We have done the same.

<sup>2</sup> The use of these stone axes is met with among all barbarous nations. The savages of Oceanica still have them, as the Mexicans had, and numerous collections of them have been made. The richest of these collections is that of the Museum of Saint Germain. The kinds of stone made use of were flint, jade (which came from a very long distance), diorite, and serpentine. See Joly, *L'homme avant les métaux*, 1879.



and often having the interior dug out below the surface of the soil. These excavations are still to be seen in many places; and the people call them, without being far wrong, *wolf-pits*.<sup>1</sup> They liked to place



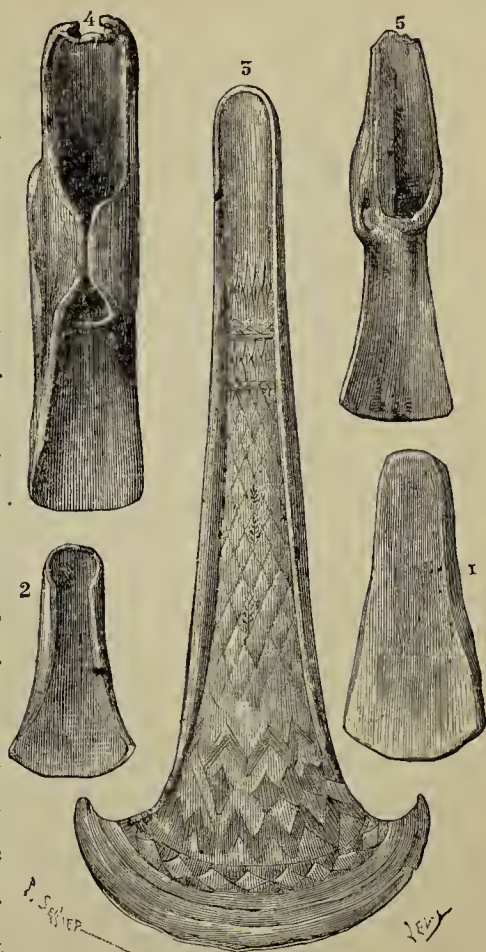
AXES FROM THE PALAFITTES (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN: THE STONE-AGE ROOM).

their dwellings at the confluence of two rivers, on islands or peninsulas, near a spring, or in the neighborhood of forests; and for this they did not require to go far. For greater security, the first Celts,

<sup>1</sup> The subterranean passages so numerous in the provinces do not all date from the Frankish and Norman Invasion, or from the Hundred Years War. Many were no doubt commenced by the Gauls.

when they found themselves in the vicinity of a lake, erected their huts on piles in the midst of the waters (lake-dwellings), and this custom was long preserved. In later times, when they knew how to dig wells, they established places of refuge (*oppida*) in strong and elevated positions. Each dwelling was surrounded by hurdles made of felled trees: several of these enclosures, surrounded by a similar fortification, formed a village or town.

For a long time the inhabitants of Gaul had only stone axes bound with thongs of leather to their wooden handles, and knives and arrow-heads of flint.<sup>1</sup> In a cave near Crécy (Seine-et-Marne) an axe has been found, formed of a piece of jade inserted in a stag's horn, and a blade of flint in the rib of an ox. Near Périgueux there has been discovered a kind of manufactory of stone arms, where, amidst heaps of rubbish, are seen axes cast aside as worthless, and others which had been recut. This kind of workshop exists in many other places. In one of them, found at Saint Acheul, near Amiens, these evidences of human industry are mixed with the fossil bones of mastodons, and consequently date from the most ancient times.

BRONZE AXES.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I found one of these arrow-heads in the sand of the Seine, at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, in the spot where it fell three or four thousand years ago, perhaps with the man whose breast it had pierced; for its edges were as sharp as the first day it was made. A calcareous paste which had formed all round had protected it. The method of manufacture may still be traced on it: it is quite a lapidary's work. The workman had succeeded in giving the flint the same purity of form that iron would have had, by taking off microscopic splinters with the aid of some other hard substance. This arrow-head is still fit for service in the present day, and would now, as then, inflict mortal wounds.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.* Figs. 1, 2. Axes found in the Seine at Pas-de-Grigny and Ablon — Seine-et-Oise (Museum of Saint Germain). Fig. 3. Axe ornamented with engraving, found at Mareuil-sur-Ourq — Oise (Collection of Héricart de Thury). Fig. 4. Axe with heel-piece and lateral ring, Verneuil — Seine-et-Marne. Fig. 5. Axe with lateral flanges and ring (Museum of Vannes, and cast in the Museum of Saint Germain).



Arms of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin), and those of iron, which were more difficult to manufacture,<sup>1</sup> are of a later age, and first belonged to the tribes of Eastern Gaul, who were nearest to the north of Italy, where metallurgy had come into use.

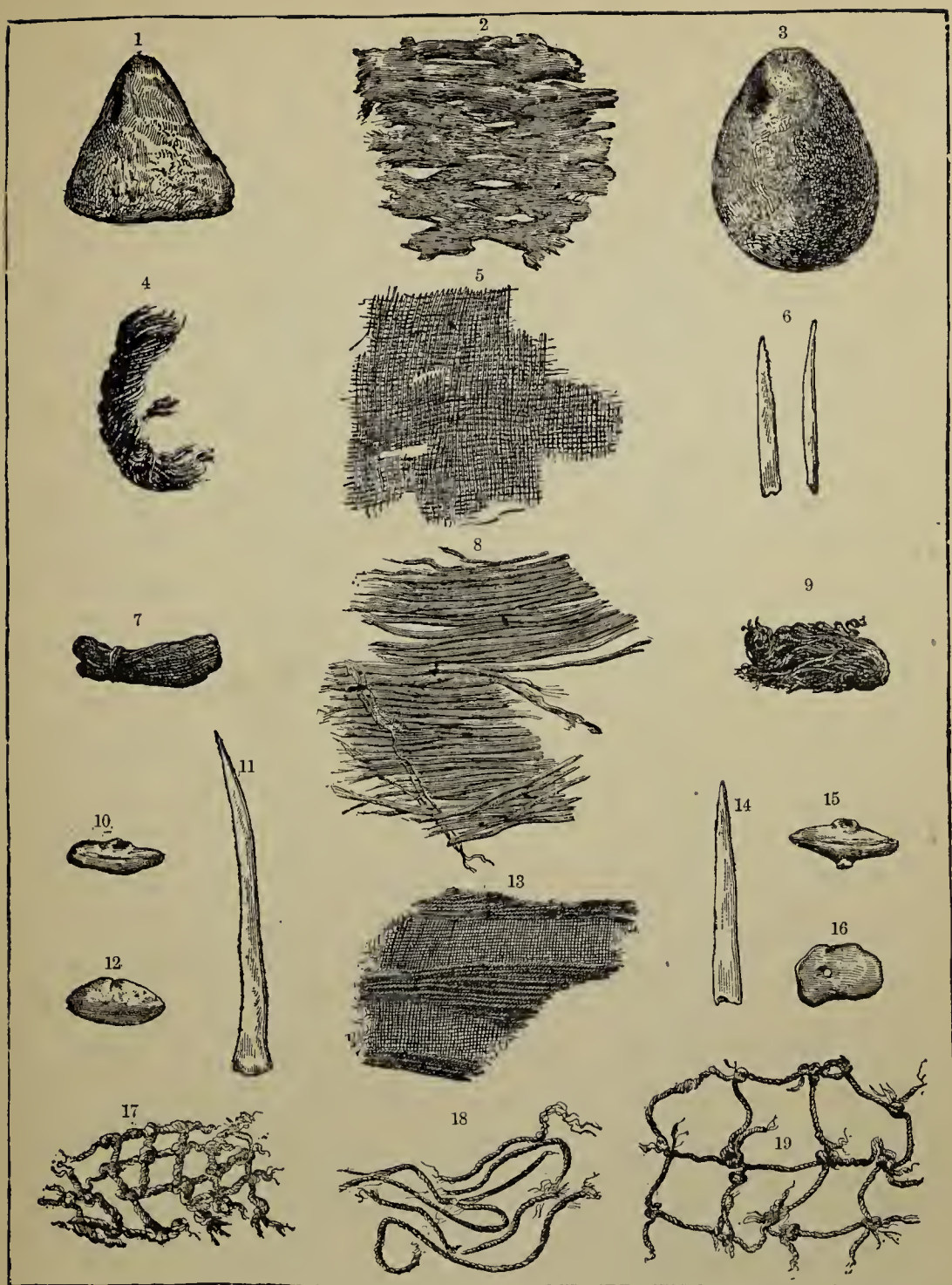
These rude weapons must be handled with respect: they represent the first victory of mind, and a conquest far more valuable at that time than all the wonders of modern science. No man can say how much time and intelligence was expended in attaining to the shaping of flint, and the polishing of it upon a grindstone or polisher, and in discovering copper, its fusibility, the mixing of it with tin, or in making the moulds in which metal could be cast. With what might was he armed who first held in his hands an axe of metal! Then only did man cease to be the outcast of creation. He no longer envied the swiftness of the bird, or the bear's strength; for his arrow flew faster than the hawk, and his axe beat down the wild beast.

There is a famous ballad of Schiller's about the bold diver who plunges into the roaring whirlpool, seeking the golden cup which the king has thrown into it. His heart trembles, in spite of his courage, when he finds himself alone under the water, amid the monsters of the deep, which surround and threaten him. Thus it was for ages with humanity, unarmed amid ravenous beasts, until it had won the golden cup which contained the early arts, and intelligence was able to begin its great struggle against brute force.

In the Scandinavian regions archæologists have been able to divide prehistoric civilization into three periods, — the ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron. The order of sequence was not as regular in Gaul, where bronze and iron seem to have made their appearance at almost the same time, but in different quantities; the former metal furnishing more objects than the latter. Their presence does not mark a spontaneous outcome of Celtic civilization; for these metals came into Gaul by means of barter, and gave the Eastern tribes, who received them first, the strength to drive westward the more poorly armed representatives of the age of the dolmens and of

<sup>1</sup> Iron wrought with the hammer did not adapt itself so readily as molten bronze to all the forms of moulding: hence its rarity in the lake-dwellings and tumuli, in which, indeed, the exposure to oxidizing must have destroyed many iron objects; whereas bronze is almost indestructible.



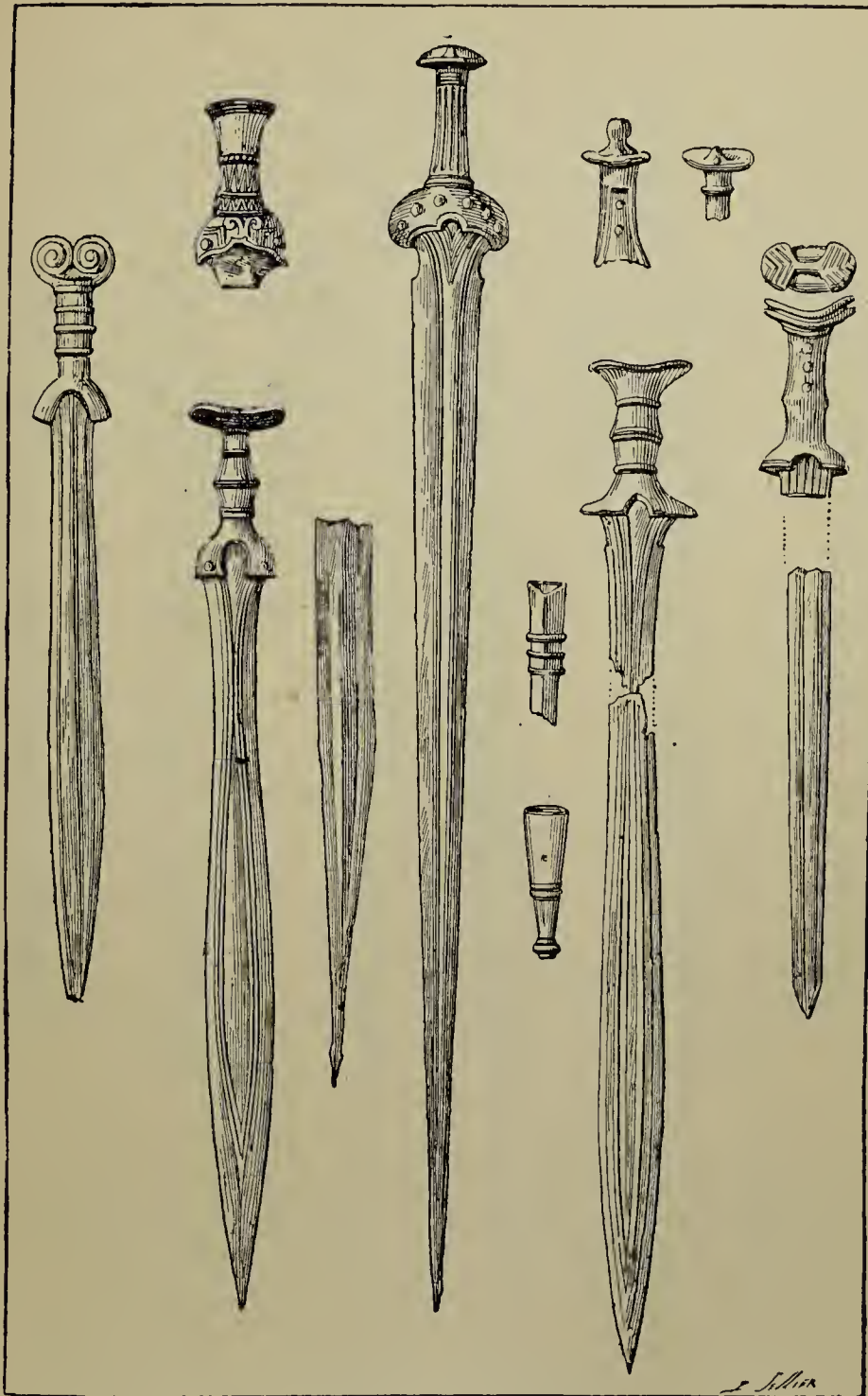


OBJECTS AND TEXTILE FABRICS OBTAINED FROM THE PALAFITTES OF LAKES  
CONSTANCE AND BOURGET.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 3. Counterweight of loom. 2. Felted cloth made of bark. 4, 5, 8. Carbonized linen cloth. 6, 11, 14. Teeth of flax-carder. 7, 9. Ball of carbonized flax. 10, 12, 15. Distaff-pins or spindles for spinning flax. 13. Embroidery on linen, carbonized. 16. Float for nets. 17. Net with small meshes. 18. Linen thread. 19. Net with large meshes.



smoothed stone. But, as a matter of fact, the ancient history of Gaul is still made up of hypotheses ; and we are well acquainted



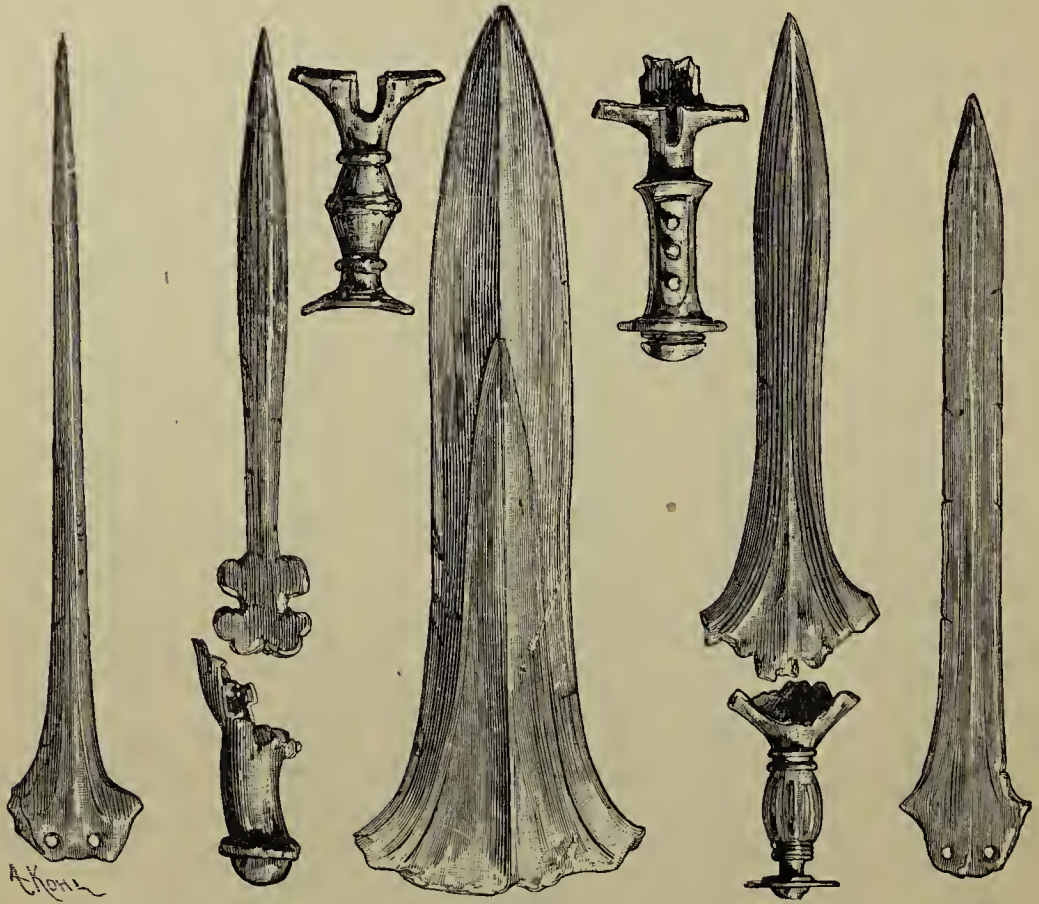
GALLIC ARMS OF BRONZE.<sup>1</sup>

with only the last state of these tribes, — that in which Caesar found them.

<sup>1</sup> Swords and daggers (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique*).



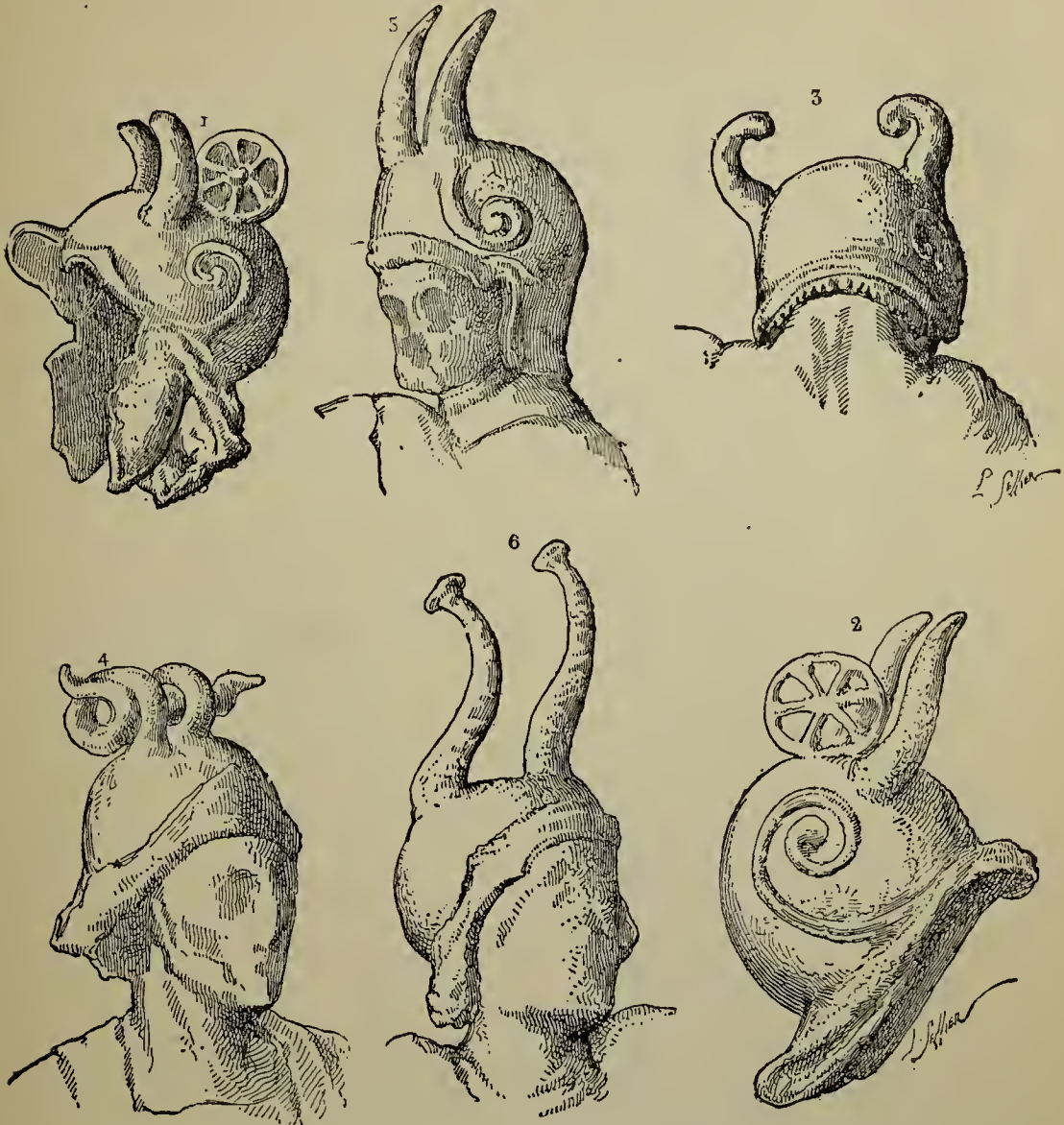
The Roman conqueror observed while he fought; and his "Commentaries," written in a clear and concise style, furnish valuable details concerning the manners and dress of Ancient Gaul: none knew the Gauls better than he who subdued them. Another writer, a contemporary of Augustus, seems also to have been well acquainted with their customs. "Some of them," says Diodorus, "wear coats of iron mail: others fight naked. Instead of swords, they have

BRONZE DAGGERS.<sup>1</sup>

great sabres, hung on their right sides by chains of iron or brass. Some wear gold or silver girdles. They also use pikes, with heads a cubit long and almost two palms broad. Their swords are scarcely less in size than the javelin of other nations; and the *sauniae*, heavy javelins, which they throw, have points longer than their swords. Of these *sauniae*, some are straight, others curved; so that not only do they cut, but they also lacerate the flesh, and, if a man draw out the weapon, the wound is enlarged."

<sup>1</sup> Blades and handles of bronze daggers (Museum of Saint Germain).

Their bucklers were fashioned with great art, and sometimes decorated with brass figures in relief. Their brazen helmets bore



GALLIC AND GALLO-ROMAN HELMETS.<sup>1</sup>

figures of birds or quadrupeds, or horns, which, like the collar (*torquis*), seem to have had some religious signification. Bracelets were also

<sup>1</sup> 1, 2. Horned helmets with wheel (Arc d'Orange, cast in the Museum of Saint Germain). 3. Horned helmet without wheel (Arc d'Orange, a cast in the Museum of Saint Germain). 4, 5, 6. Horned helmets from the tomb of the Julii at Saint Remys (Cast in the Museum of Saint Germain, rooms *b* and *c*). These eccentric ornaments of Gallic helmets, mentioned by Diodorus (*Biblioth. hist.* liv. v. c. xxx.), and still to be seen in bas-reliefs, are not a mere freak of the soldiers who wore them. Horns were, both in Gaul and the East, one of the attributes of command, one of the signs of divine or royal power, βασιλείας παράσημον, according to the expression of Eusebius. The god Cernunnos, on the altar of Notre Dame in Paris, has horns. The same is the case with the squatting divinity on the altar at Rheims, and with the original



indispensable ornaments: in the stone age they were made of shells; later they were of metal, and even of gold.<sup>1</sup> The warriors of the American prairies and of the islands of Oceanica decorate their heads with brilliant feathers and strange ornaments. In a barbarous age the man possesses woman's vanity, and would fain appear beautiful, as well as strong and brave.



GALLIC TRUMPET.<sup>3</sup>

“On journeys and in battle the wealthy make use of chariots drawn by two horses, and carrying a driver and a warrior.<sup>2</sup> They throw the javelin first, and then leap down to attack the enemy with the sword. Some despise death so much as to come into the fight without other defensive armor than a girdle round the body. They bring with them servants of free condition, and employ them as drivers and guards. Before the trumpet has given the signal for action, they are accustomed to come forth from the ranks, and challenge the bravest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms in order to intimidate their foes. If any one accepts the challenge, they sing the prowess of their ancestors, boast their own virtues, and insult their adversaries. They cut off the heads of their fallen enemies, fasten them on their horses' necks, and nail these trophies to their houses. If it is a renowned foe, they preserve his head in

statuette at Autun. The symbolic and religious character of horns is rendered the more probable, because, on the helmets of the Are d'Orange, the horns are associated with the *wheel*, a well-known hieratic sign, and one of the special symbols of the Dioscuri. The wheel figures as such upon the coins of Marseilles. It is probable that we here have before us an Oriental souvenir. “It is quite allowable to trace an Oriental tradition in the attribute of horns worn by the gods,” and, we may add, by Gallic warriors, says Baron de Witte (*Rev. arch.*, 1852, p. 56). Not only is the god Belus represented on the cylinders with horns on his head, but Oriental kings did themselves honor by ornamenting their tiaras with them. Seleucus Nieator, following the example of the ancient monarchs, caused himself to be represented on his coins with a helmet decorated with a bull's horns and ears” (Note by M. Bertrand). See in Layard's *Mon. of Nineveh*, i. pl. 12, two sitting statues of the Assyrian god Nebo, wearing tiaras with a double pair of horns.

<sup>1</sup> These collars and bracclets had probably a hieratic or social character: the chiefs wore gold ones; for freemen they were of bronze. The Museum of Saint Germain possesses more than a hundred and fifty of them. [There is also a fine collection at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. — *Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> There is one in the Museum of Saint Germain. See the *Revue archéol.*, 1877, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Museum of Saint Germain.



oil of cedar; and some have been known to refuse to sell such a head for its weight in gold." "I have seen many of them," says the philosopher Posidonios, "and I was a long time in getting accustomed to the sight." Others set their enemies' skulls in gold, and used them as cups for religious libations.

These challenges, these long speeches before coming to blows, are found in the "Iliad;" and almost all barbarians have done their enemies the honor of preserving their heads or skulls as trophies. Before the fight, they often vowed the spoils of the foe to Hesus, and after the victory they sacrificed to him what remained of the cattle they had carried off. "The surplus of the booty is placed in a public place, and in many towns there may be seen these heaps of spoils piled up in consecrated spots. It very rarely happens, that in contempt of religion, a Gaul dares clandestinely to appropriate what he took in war, or carry off anything from these stores. Death is the punishment of those who commit this theft."

The condition of the women in Gaul indicates some advance in civilization. From chattels they had become persons. Free in their choice of a husband, they brought with them a dowry; the man advanced an equal value from his property; the whole was put together, and this sum went to the survivor, with the in-

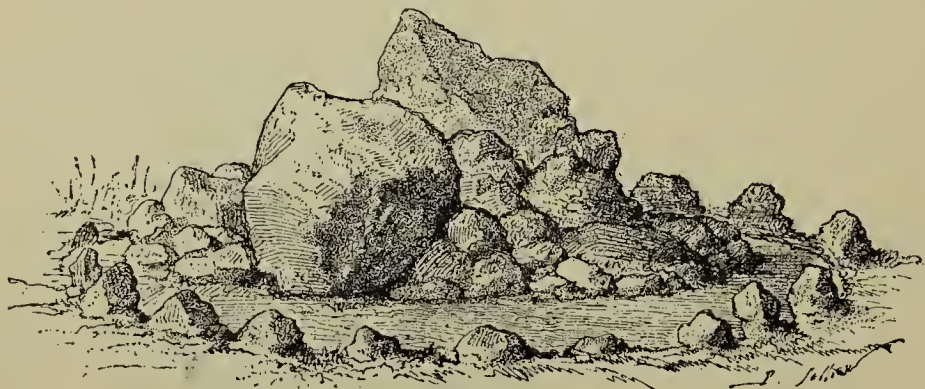


POSITONIOS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *Descr. des ant.*, No. 89).

crease it had produced.<sup>1</sup> But the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, as well as over his children, and the son could not accost his father in public before he was of an age to bear arms.

“When the father of a family of high birth dies, his kin assemble, and, if they have any suspicion as to the cause of his end, the women are put to the torture:<sup>2</sup> if the crime is proved, they are put to death by fire, or with the most horrible torments. The funeral ceremonies are magnificent. All that is thought to have been dear to the departed during his life is cast upon the funeral-pile, even animals.” Not long before Caesar’s expedition it had been the



TOMB OF A GALLIC CHIEF (MUSEUM OF CLUNY).

custom to burn with the dead man the slaves and clients whom he had most loved.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that a portion of the territory of each tribe — the pastures, waters, and forests — remained common property: the tribe itself was like a collection of clans.<sup>4</sup> There were two classes, — the nobles and the freemen. The former did not form an exclusive caste. They possessed honors and wealth and lands; and round each of them gathered a numerous crowd of servants and clients, who lived genera-

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 19: . . . *cum fructibus superiorum temporum*. It corresponded to our gift of survivorship.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar says (*De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19): *De uxoribus . . . quaestionem habent*, whence some writers have concluded that polygamy existed in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> There has recently been discovered, not far from the gates of Paris, at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, the sepulchre of a chief buried more than twenty-five centuries ago, with his wife, his horse, and his flint arms. These remains are deposited in the Museum of Cluny.

<sup>4</sup> I think, however, that it is going too far to liken the Gallic clientship to the system of clans in Scotland in all respects. All the members of the latter claimed to be descended from a common ancestor; whereas in the latter there were many elements foreign to blood relationship. Thus Dumnorix gained clients daily by his liberalities. (Caesar, *B. G.*, i. 18.)



tion after generation in the house or upon the land of their chief. Caesar calls them *equites* (knights); and this cavalry was much esteemed among the legions of the Empire. But their ranks were open to courage, and whosoever was worthy to take a place among the first men of the State could lay claim thereto. "When any war is declared, which occurs almost every year, all the nobles take arms, accompanied by a number of servants and clients proportionate to their birth and to their wealth." Some of these clients dedicated themselves to their chief for life and death. Among the Aquitani, persons thus devoted were called *soldurii*. "The *soldurii* enjoy all things in common with those to whom they have consecrated themselves by this bond of friendship: if the chief perishes, they refuse to survive him, and slay themselves. It has never yet happened within the memory of man that one of those who had devoted themselves to a chief by such a compact refused to follow him in death."

But this custom of clientship had also its inconveniences. The chief must defend his clients, and avenge wrong done to them; whence it resulted that each of these associations formed, as it were, a State within the State, which was a cause of endless disturbances. We have seen clientship at Rome, and it existed almost everywhere, because it is the first of social forms, the weak leaning upon the strong. But Roman discipline placed the State above the clan, the citizen above the individual; for this reason, Rome became strong, while Gaul, which had only an imperfect knowledge of the great discipline of citizenship, remained weak.

The knights and their clients left but a very humble place for the freemen, *plebs paene pro servo habetur*. The numbers of the latter, however, constituted a force, and, utilized by some ambitious leader, more than once changed the constitution of the State.<sup>1</sup>

The *elders* formed the council of the city, in which certain tribes did not allow two members of the same family to sit: above them was the king, or a temporary chief, who might even be elected annually. Some words in the "Commentaries" would lead us to think, that, in exceptional circumstances, a general council of the whole of Gaul were assembled. The divided condition of the country does not allow us to suppose that these were anything more than assemblies of confederate nations; yet the idea of a representative

<sup>1</sup> See in the following chapter what is related of Orgetorix, Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, etc.



assembly of Gaul was in men's minds, at least in Caesar's time, and answered to an obscure feeling of national unity.

In the assemblies, precautions were taken against hasty decisions. "In the cantons," says Caesar, "which are considered the best administered, it is a sacred law that he who learns any news of interest to the city should immediately inform the magistrate of it, without communicating with any other person; experience having shown that imprudent and unenlightened men are often alarmed by false reports, take extreme courses, and even proceed to crimes. The magistrates conceal what they consider proper, and reveal to the multitude only what they think useful to be publicly known. It is only in the assembly that public affairs are discussed."

To maintain order there, the Gauls had established a singular custom. If any one interrupted the orator, or attempted to speak out of his turn, a corner of his mantle was cut off. At gatherings of war, other customs existed: the man too corpulent to wear a standard girdle reserved for the purpose was punished with a fine, and he who arrived last at a military rendezvous was put to death: the latter, no doubt, by keeping the others waiting, came at last to be regarded as disloyal. The Romans had a similar custom: at the review of knights, a man who was too corpulent was deprived of his horse by the censor, and relegated to a lower class;<sup>1</sup> the citizen who did not answer when his name was called for military service was sold.<sup>2</sup>

### III. — THE DRUIDS.

At first the Gauls worshipped the thunder, the stars, the ocean, rivers, lakes, the wind, forests, mountains, and great oaks; that is to say, the forces of nature, — beliefs, which in all places have formed the basis of primitive polytheism. Little by little the phenomena were personified: Kirk represented the fierce wind of the Rhone valley, — the Mistral, which the Provençals still call by its Gallic name of

<sup>1</sup> *Nimis pingui homini et corpulento* (Aul. Gell., vii. 22). The same was the case with him who presented himself with an ill-kept horse (*Ibid.*, iv. 12 and 20).

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Pro Caecina*, 34.

Cers; Tarann was the spirit of the thunder; Bel, the sun god; Pennin, the genius of the Alps; Arduin, of the immense forest of the Ardennes, etc.

Still later the Gauls worshipped moral forces and higher gods, — Hesus, the first cause, “who ever springs up afresh;” Teutates, the orderer of the world, “the father of the people;” Mercury, the inventor of arts and conductor of souls, whose Gallic name has disappeared; Camul, the fierce genius of war, “the master of the brave;” Borvo, the god who heals;<sup>1</sup> Ogmios, the god of poetry and eloquence, who was represented with chains of gold and amber issuing from his mouth to bind and carry away those who heard him; the goddess Epona, protectress of horses and horsemen, so numerous in Gaul; the mother-goddesses, ancestresses of the good people and fairies of the middle ages, and others whose names are lost.

The Druid, the minister of these divinities, was at the same time the interpreter of the will of heaven and of the secrets of the earth. He was priest and sorcerer, himself deluded, and deluding others. This is the condition of religions and



TARANN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Romans likened him to Apollo, the great healer god, and he was highly honored at the *thermae*, three of which have retained his name. He also gave it to one of the branches of the house of Capet, — the Bourbons.

<sup>2</sup> Gaidoz, *Religion gaul.* pl. i. The hammer which the god holds is the sign of the thunderbolt.

priesthoods in all barbarous ages. When as yet there is no science to explain phenomena, they assume a supernatural character, which the priest alone can explain, and alone appears able to control. Hence his power, which he strengthened by an imposing and terrible form of worship, and by teaching which kept the worshippers under his moral sway.<sup>1</sup>

Every year, during the night of the 1st of May, the radiant return of Bel, the sun, was celebrated by great bonfires kindled upon the heights. The feast of Teutates was observed in the forests by torchlight on the first night of the new year. At that time was gathered with great ceremony the mistletoe, — a parasitic plant which springs from the branches of certain trees, most rarely of all from the oak, the tree venerated by the Druids, which rarity caused it to be prized when thus found. Great search was made for it, however, and when, on the sixth day of the last moon of winter (in February or March), the priests had at last discovered the plant spreading its green foliage over the leafless boughs of some oak, — an image of life issuing from the midst of dead nature, — the people flocked round the sacred tree. The chief of the Druids, clothed in white, cut with a golden sickle the holy plant, and other priests received it in their white tunics, not allowing it to touch the ground. Two white bulls were then sacrificed; and the people celebrated with a great festival the fortunate discovery. The mistletoe was dipped in water, and this water possessed the twofold power of purifying soul and body, restoring health and prosperity. This custom, like many others of that time, left behind it deep traces, which are found throughout the middle ages.

Other sacred herbs possessed marvellous virtues; but, after the mistletoe of the oak, nothing was so powerful as a serpent's

<sup>1</sup> Whence came the Druids? The Celts of Spain, of Gallia Cisalpina, of the valley of the Danube, and of Galatia, and even those of Gallia Narbonensis, had none. Outside of Gaul, they are found only in Britain and Ireland; and Caesar thought the great island was the chief centre of Druidic knowledge. To account for this fact, an explanation offers; but it is a merely hypothetical one. The primitive Aryans had their *shamans*, who, more fortunate than their Siberian successors, gained brilliant successes, like the Brahmins in India, the Magi in Persia, and the Druids among the Celts. It has been supposed that these Druids, leaving the early home in company with the first Celtic bands, arrived with them in Britain, where, in their insular isolation and under the influence of favorable circumstances or of some superior man, their institution was developed until it at last became strong enough to make the religious conquest of a part of Gaul. The *shamans* of the other Celtic tribes, remaining merely obscure and unimportant sorcerers, have escaped the notice of history.



egg.<sup>1</sup> The Gallic priests wore them hung about their necks, richly set, and they were sold at very high prices.

The Druids put nothing in writing; and the songs of the bards of ancient days died with them. But in one corner of England and one of France their memory has been preserved. Wales and Armorica have long had their national singers, — the heirs of the Celtic bards, of their tongue and their traditions. It has been thought possible to recover from these Welsh and Breton poems, especially the former, the ancient spirit of the Druids; and with these songs of a comparatively modern epoch, a whole system of metaphysics has been reconstructed. I fear the Druids have received credit for much which does not belong to them.<sup>2</sup> Human sacrifices stained with blood the rude altars which the Druids raised in the midst of the wild moors and under the dense shadow of primeval forests. What is the formidable danger which these green abysses conceal? The Druids explained that there were the gods greedy for human blood. “The Gauls,” says Caesar, “are very superstitious. Those who are attacked by serious illnesses, as well as those who live amid warfare and dangers, immolate human victims, or make a vow to immolate them; and for these sacrifices they have recourse to the ministration of the Druids, without whom no sacrifice can be offered. They believe that the life of a man is necessary to redeem that of another man, and that the immortal gods can only be appeased at that price; and they have even established public sacrifices of this description. Sometimes they make figures of men of immense size, woven of plaited osiers, and fill the interior with living men. They set fire to this, and cause their victims to perish

<sup>1</sup> This supposed serpent's egg, which in Claudius's reign cost a Roman knight his life, appears to have been a fossil sea-urechin, very frequently found in secondary and tertiary deposits. The traces of this superstition are not yet extinct in the mountains of Scotland. Glass balls, called serpent's teeth, are still worn, as the Druids wore them, on their necks. Hence, too, doubtless came the use of those ivory and amber necklaces which nurses place round children's necks to help on, as they say, their teething.

<sup>2</sup> Sharon Turner, the great historian of the Anglo-Saxons, at the commencement of this century affirmed the authenticity of the Welsh poems of the middle ages, and thereafter none ventured to doubt it. M. de la Villemarqué has also, through his *Barzaz-Breiz*, made the popular songs of Brittany widely known. But the authenticity of the Welsh poems has been energetically attacked by Mr. Nash, in his *Taliésin* (1858, pp. 119–121); and that of the songs in *Barzaz-Breiz* by M. Luzel, and in the *Revue celtique* of M. Gaidoz (vol. ii. pp. 44–70). Though M. de la Villemarqué's book is no longer an historical one, it retains a great charm as a literary work.

in the flames. They think that the death of those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or any other crime, is more pleasing to the immortal gods;<sup>1</sup> but when such men are lacking they take the innocent." The manner in which the victim fell, the convulsions of his death-pangs, and the color of his blood, were so many signs whereby the sacrificer recognized the will of the gods. The Greeks held the same belief when they sought to kill Iphigenia, and when Achilles slew his captives on the tomb of Patroclus; the Romans, when they buried Gauls alive in the Forum, or made gladiators fight before a tomb. According to the testimony of Greek and Latin antiquity, the Druids taught that punishments and rewards awaited man in a future life. "They try to persuade men," says Caesar, "that souls do not perish, and that after death they pass into another body,—a belief which is peculiarly fitted to inspire courage by driving away the fear of death."

Metempsychosis is a Pythagorean idea which the Greeks furnished to the Gauls, and it must have been brought to the notice of Caesar by some among the Druids who were disposed towards Greek culture. Nothing authorizes the opinion that these priests had, concerning the great mystery of death, a creed more definite than that of the Romans. But their funeral ceremonies prove a faith in a life beyond the grave far more sincere than the dim belief of the Latins in the sad existence of the manes. Horace, the epicurean who ceaselessly repeats, "Enjoy quickly, lose not a moment, for death draws near," thought this Gaul that had no dread of the funeral-rites—*non paventis funera Galliae*—a very savage country indeed. The West has never seen a nation that thought less of life, or encountered steel with less fear, in battles, in duels, in the voluntary immolation of victims for sacrifices, and even at festivals. Death was to them but a dark and narrow passage, beyond which they saw the light.

"The dust of the ancients shall spring to life again," said Merlin<sup>2</sup> the enchanter, in the sixth century of our era. As a sign of this renewal of life, on the night of the 1st of November, the

<sup>1</sup> Even in the last century, baskets were thrown into the fire, containing cats, foxes, or wolves, instead of human beings (Gaidoz, *Religion des Gaulois*).

<sup>2</sup> A semi-fabulous personage who plays a great part in the legends of the Round Table, and to whom have been attributed prophetic utterances famous for ages.

Druids extinguished all fires. Plunged in darkness and silence, the earth seemed dead. Suddenly upon the highest hill a brilliant fire shone forth; the flame on domestic hearths was then rekindled, and the people broke forth into songs of gladness; life resumed possession of the world.

On that same night, Samhan, the judge of the dead, sat upon his throne far away in the west to judge the souls of those who had died during the year. They came in from all parts of Great Gaul to the extremity of Armorica, to the foot of the promontory of Plogoff, against which the sea utters its everlasting plaint. "The dwellers on this shore," says the poet Claudian, "hear the shades arrive wailing; they see the pale phantoms of the dead pass by." At the solemn hour of midnight, when legends say that coffins open and the dead re-appear, the fishermen of the coast were wont to hear a rapping at their door, and to find their barks laden with invisible passengers. The sail being set and the helm fixed, they were carried away by an unknown force, which in a few minutes bore the skiff to the shores of the isles of Prydain. The bark immediately grew lighter, and the mariner could return to his home: the souls had departed.

But they were to return to fulfil a second existence, better and more complete than the first. Death was but the middle point of life. "Do you not know," the ancient bard Gwenc'hlan<sup>1</sup> is made to say, "that every man must die three times before resting forever?" Thus the Druid would recommence his life of meditation and study in order to know more; thus the hero would live again to avenge his people. Did not the Welsh for five hundred years await the return of Arthur?

The Druids formed, not an hereditary caste, but a clergy recruited from the most able men, with a supreme pontiff, councils, and the terrible weapon of excommunication. Their chief possessed an unlimited authority. "At his death the most eminent in dignity succeeds him; or, if several have equal claims, the election takes place by the vote of the Druids; and the office is sometimes disputed in arms. At a certain period of the year all the Druids assemble in a consecrated place on the frontier of the country of

<sup>1</sup> One of the bards of *Barzaz-Breiz*.



the Carnutes (Chartres), which is supposed to be the central point of Gaul. Thither repair from all parts those who have any differences; and they conform to the judgments and decisions there pronounced.

“In certain cantons the Druids are still the judges of the people. If a crime has been committed, or a murder has taken place, or a quarrel has arisen about an inheritance or concerning a boundary, it is they who decide in the case. They assign rewards and penalties. If a private citizen or a public man does not defer to their decision, they forbid him the sacrifices: this is the rarest punishment among them. Those who incur this interdict are accounted impious and criminal; everyone withdraws from them; their presence and conversation are avoided, as though men feared the contagion of their penalty. All access to justice is refused them, and they have no consideration.

“The Druids do not go to war, and they pay no taxes. Enticed by such great privileges, many Gauls join them of their own accord, or are sent to them by their kindred. There, it is said, they learn a great number of verses. There are some who pass twenty years in this training. It is not allowed to commit these verses to writing; and yet in most public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters. There are, it appears to me, two reasons for this custom: one is to prevent their knowledge being spread among the vulgar; the other, lest their disciples, trusting to writing, should neglect their memory. The movement of the stars, the immensity of the universe, the greatness of the earth, the nature of things, the strength and power of the immortal gods — such are the subjects of their discussions.” This profound knowledge possessed by the Druids, and this vast power, which during the Gallic war of independence was never seen acting, seem to us incredible. These priests evidently excited surprise among the Romans, and made them think of the sacerdotal castes of the East, whose wisdom it was the fashion at that time greatly to extol. We are tempted to think that the information to Caesar furnished by his principal agent in Gaul, the Druid Divitiacus, an imaginative and unscrupulous man, applied not to the present, but to a distant past, which his vanity held up as full of the might and majesty of his order.

Of Caesar's just quoted words we must, however, retain what

concerns the singular constitution of this great sacerdotal body. It contrasts with all the institutions of Graeco-Latin antiquity. At Rome the priest and the magistrate were one; Caesar held the pontificate at the same time with the proconsular authority: in Gaul the military and religious chiefs were distinct. A veritable clergy held sway there, and, by a system of education such as was elsewhere unknown to the ancients, they must have exercised a powerful influence over men's minds. But when it is inferred that the Catholic Church has had a greater hold on nations whose early religious organization was so like what Christianity brought them, the fact is overlooked that this organization was already gone in the first century of our era, and that there remained only of Druidism those superstitious beliefs which so long survive dethroned religions. Between the reign of the priests of Hesus and of Christian priests, three centuries of Pagan rule must be placed. Moreover, it does not appear that Christianity was established either more quickly or more firmly in Gaul than in lands which had never known Druidism, like Italy and Spain.

Affiliated to the Druidic order were bards, diviners, and prophetesses. The latter, formidable magicians, loved to dwell on wild, rocky shores beside the tempestuous ocean. The nine Druidesses of the Isle-de-Sein, off the western point of Brittany, were understood to know the future, and to have power over the winds and waves. Like the Roman Vestals, they were vowed to perpetual virginity. Others, who dwelt on an island at the mouth of the Loire, had husbands upon the mainland, but rarely visited them. Yearly, on a fixed day, it was their duty to destroy and reconstruct, between sunrise and sunset, the dwelling of their god. With the first ray of the rising sun, the former structure began to fall under their swift blows, and another temple rose as quickly, emblem of the destruction and renewal of the world and of human life. But woe to her who should let fall the smallest piece of the new material! Her companions tore her limb from limb. Mount Saint-Michel had also its college of Druidesses: a specialty of these sacred women was the distribution to the faithful of amulets with marvellous properties, and of arrows which never missed their aim.

The *ovates*, or diviners, had charge of all the material part of the Druidic worship. It was they who sought the revelation of the

future in the entrails of victims and the flight of birds. A Gaul accomplished no act of importance without having recourse to the divination of the *ovate*. Such is the endless curiosity of races in their childhood. They know nothing of the past, and but very little about the present; their sole anxiety is to penetrate the mysterious future.

So long as the Druidic power was unquestioned, the bards were the sacred singers who took part in all religious ceremonies. But, after the military chiefs had enfranchised themselves from priestly dominion, it was the rich and powerful to whom the bards then devoted themselves. Originally the poets of gods and heroes, they afterwards became the courtiers of men. They were seen at the tables of the great, and paid for their right to sit there by the songs they composed in their host's honor.

#### IV. — THE SO-CALLED DRUIDIC MONUMENTS.

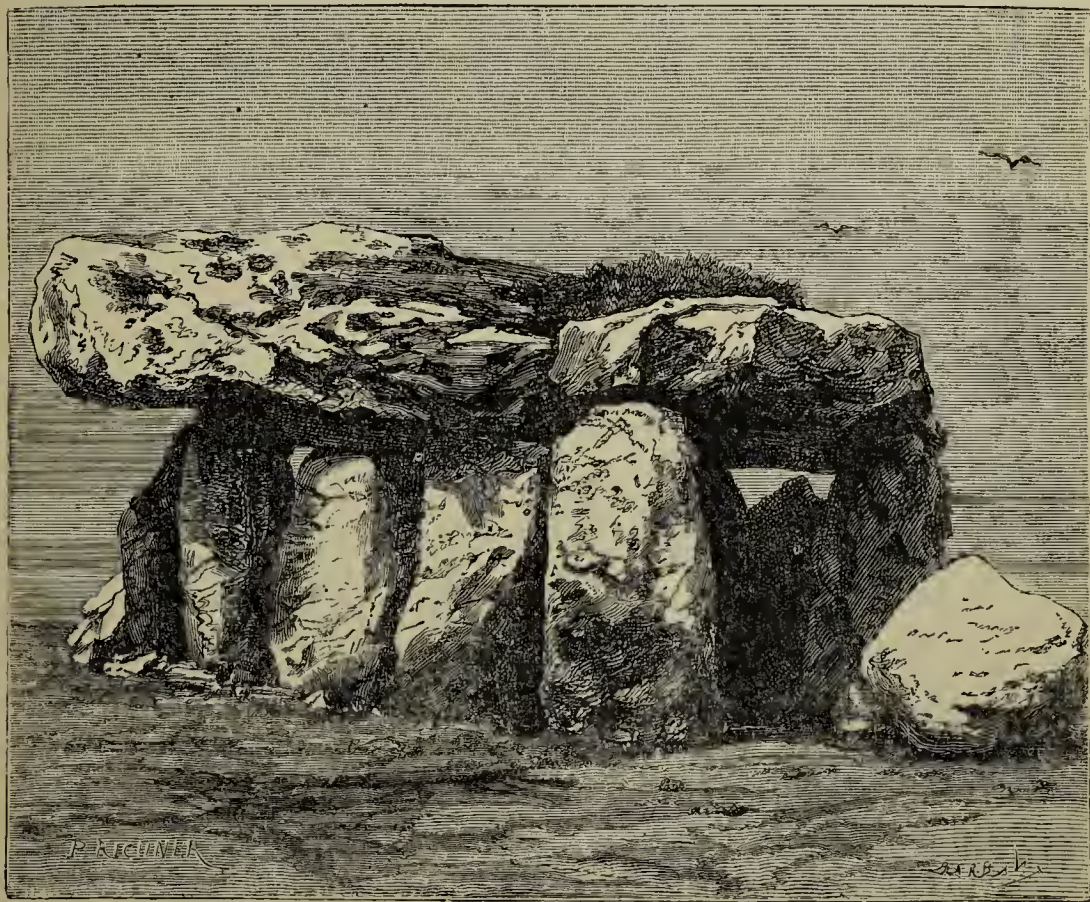
IN a great number of the western provinces of France there are found strange monuments, — *peulvens*, or *menhirs* (*men*, “a stone;” *hir*, “long”), enormous blocks of rough stone planted in the earth separately, or ranged in avenues; cromlechs, or menhirs placed either in a single circle, or in several concentric circles around a higher menhir. Within these religious precincts were deposited the trophies of victories, the national standards, and even the treasures taken from the enemy, the guardianship of which was in later times confided to consecrated ponds<sup>1</sup> and woods. The dolmens, formed of one or more great flat stones placed horizontally upon several vertical stones, were sepulchral chambers, sometimes covered over with earth, which contained the remains of some famous chief. At the foot of one of the dolmens in the neighborhood of Saumur, a skeleton was discovered with a stone knife in its side. Was this the warrior who fell in battle, or was it a victim immolated at the funeral sacrifice? Some of these monuments are as much as twenty-three feet in length and the same in breadth.

In the dolmens are found implements of stone, sometimes of

<sup>1</sup> See B. Fillon, *Objets trouvés dans l'étang de Nesmy*, 1879.



bronze or gold, very rarely of iron. The lake-dwellings, or huts built upon piles, belong to the same age. They contain objects of bone and stone identical with those of the dolmens, but, in addition to these, woven fabrics, and, in the vessels which have fallen from the huts to the bottom of the water, grains of wheat, barley, and oats, pease and lentils, — a proof that these hunters also knew how to cultivate the ground.



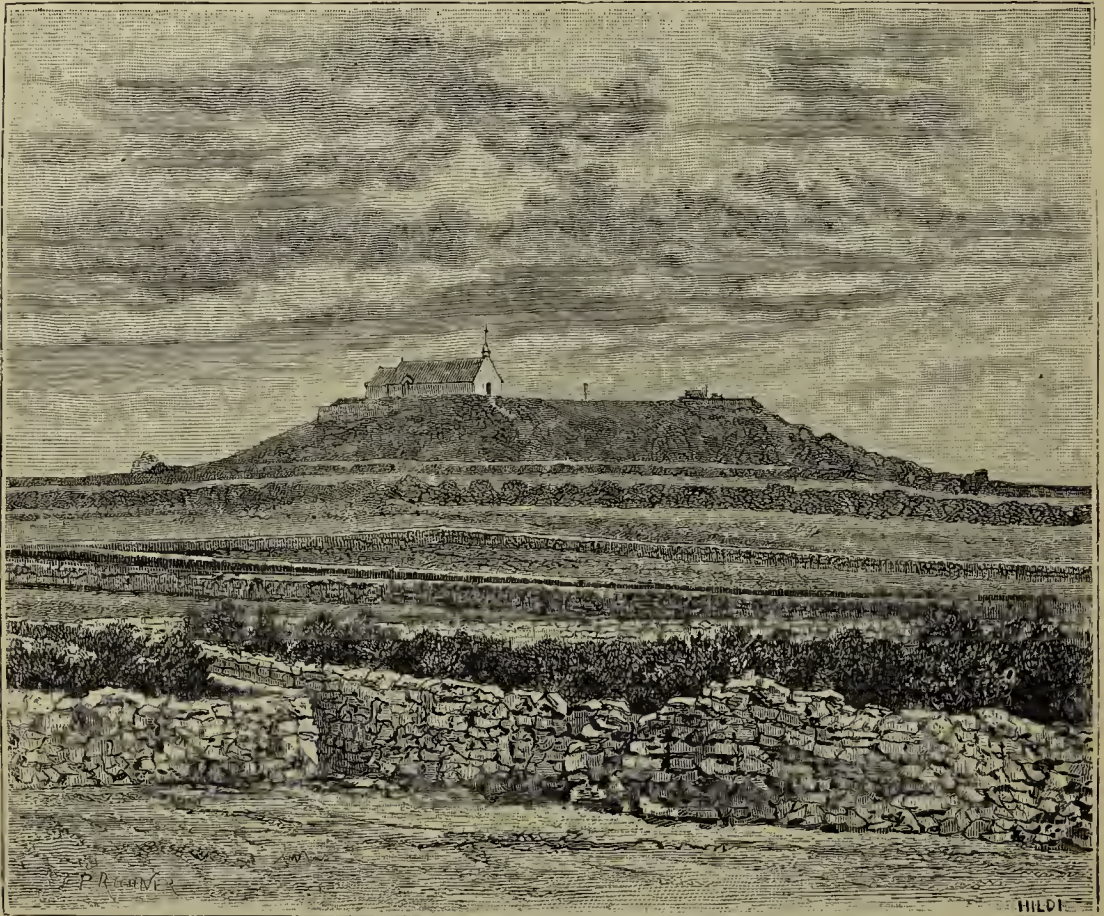
THE FAIRIES' ROCK AT KORKORO, NEAR KARNAC.

They knew little or nothing of the metals, which, on the other hand, abound in the tumuli. These latter tombs, which contain a great many objects of bronze and iron, have only very few flint ones; and their pottery, less rude than that in the dolmens, is decorated with lozenge and dog-tooth patterns, which remind one of the ornamentation of the most ancient vases of Cisalpine Gaul. The east of Gaul was in advance of the west; and this was natural. The radiation of Greek and Italian civilization had penetrated thither more easily.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the curious map of dolmens and tumuli drawn up by M. A. Bertrand.



The most celebrated megalithic monuments are in Brittany and Anjou.<sup>1</sup> The lines of Karnac<sup>2</sup> formed ten alleys, having altogether a breadth of about three hundred feet, and more than two miles and a half in length. Until recently they have served as a quarry for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. When they were entire, they numbered from eight to ten thousand stones, some of which



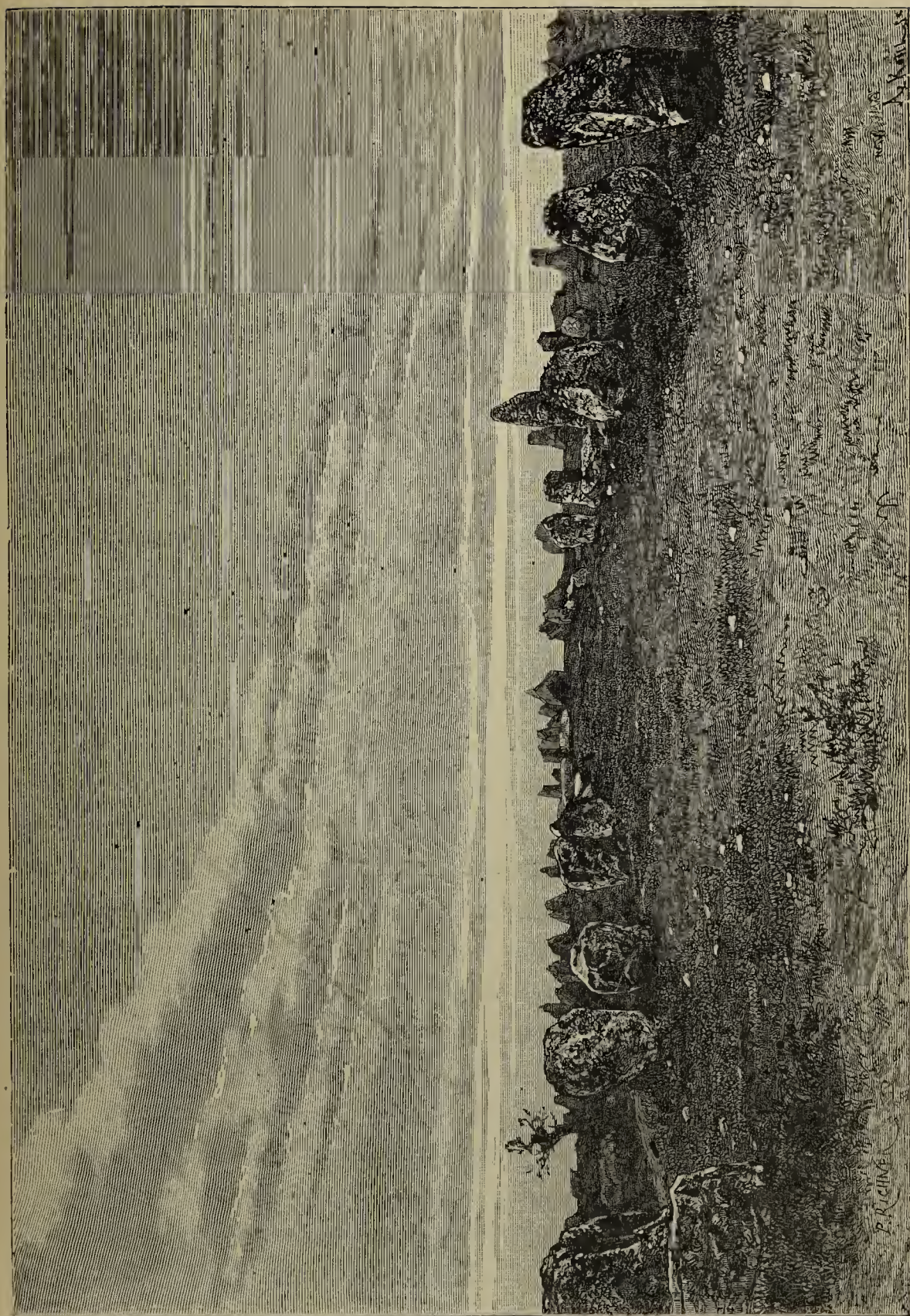
MOUNT SAINT-MICHEL AT KARNAC (TUMULUS).

rise to a height of fifteen or twenty feet above the ground; and many are placed with the thin end downwards. It is like an army of giants. An army it is, in truth, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, who could not live beside this wonder without explaining its existence after their fashion. A man of God, S.

<sup>1</sup> A menhir of granite in Belle-Isle and the one in the Island of Hoëdic were carried from the coast, which is sixteen miles distant. On reading the description given later of the great vessels of the Veneti, it will be understood how the Gauls were able to transport such masses across the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Karnac, in the Breton language, signifies "the place of rocks." The drawing which we give on p. 263 was made by P. Richner, from his picture in the Museum of Saint Germain.





LINES OF KARNAC (VIEW TAKEN FROM KER-MARIO)





Cornely, evangelized these countries. The enemies of Christianity, exasperated by his victories, assembled in great numbers to kill him. The saint fled to Karnac. The first ranks of the Pagan army were already close upon him, when God, to save his servant, changed them into stones; and there they still stand in their order of battle. The covered alley, or dolmen of Bagneux near Samur, called the Fairies' Rock (Roche-aux-Fées), is over sixty-five feet in length. It is formed of four flat stones, each twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide, and weighing from sixty to seventy tons, held at a height of seven feet and a half above the ground by eight other stones fixed



POTTERY OF THE DOLMENS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

in the ground. The Rocking-Stone of Perros-Guyrech (Côtes-du-Nord), forty-six feet long by twenty-three broad, is so perfectly balanced, that a single man can set it rocking, in spite of its weight of five hundred tons.

On the moor of Upper Brambien there may still be counted nearly two thousand menhirs, standing or overturned.

At Lock-Maria-Ker are the King of the Menhirs, the Merchant's Table, and the covered alley of Mané-Lud. The King of the Menhirs, was a block larger than the obelisk in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Unfortunately it has been overthrown, and lies on the ground, broken into four pieces: in its unbroken state it was

seventy-two feet in length, and must have weighed two hundred and fifty tons. By what means did these barbarians move such masses, which are enough to baffle our own mechanical arts?

Elsewhere are barrows like that in the peninsula of Rhuy, in the department of Morbihan, which is a hundred feet high and three hundred and fifty round the base. Beneath this artificial mountain, as in the sepulchral chambers of the Egyptian Pyramids, a skeleton was found, probably that of a religious chief. The first



GALLIC VASES IN TERRA-COTTA (CEMETERIES OF THE MARNE, IN THE MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

inhabitants of Gaul condemned themselves to immense labors to honor gods whom we no longer know, and dead men whose names lasted but for a day.

These strange monuments sometimes bear rough carvings and various signs: crescents are seen on them, round hollows arranged in circles, spirals, figures which perhaps represent stone axes, intertwined serpents, or trees. It is like the fantastic tattooing of savages applied to granite.



The so-called Druidic monuments were constructed before the arrival of the Druids in Gaul, or before the period of their power: they belong to the first Celtic population, who long continued to erect them. These colossal stones, set up either as landmarks, or in memory of men, or in homage to the gods, are the most ancient monumental manifestation of human force, not only among the Gauls, but everywhere. The "Iliad" and the Bible make mention of them; they existed in Abyssinia; Egypt made her obelisks and her Pyramids of them; the Scandinavian countries are full of



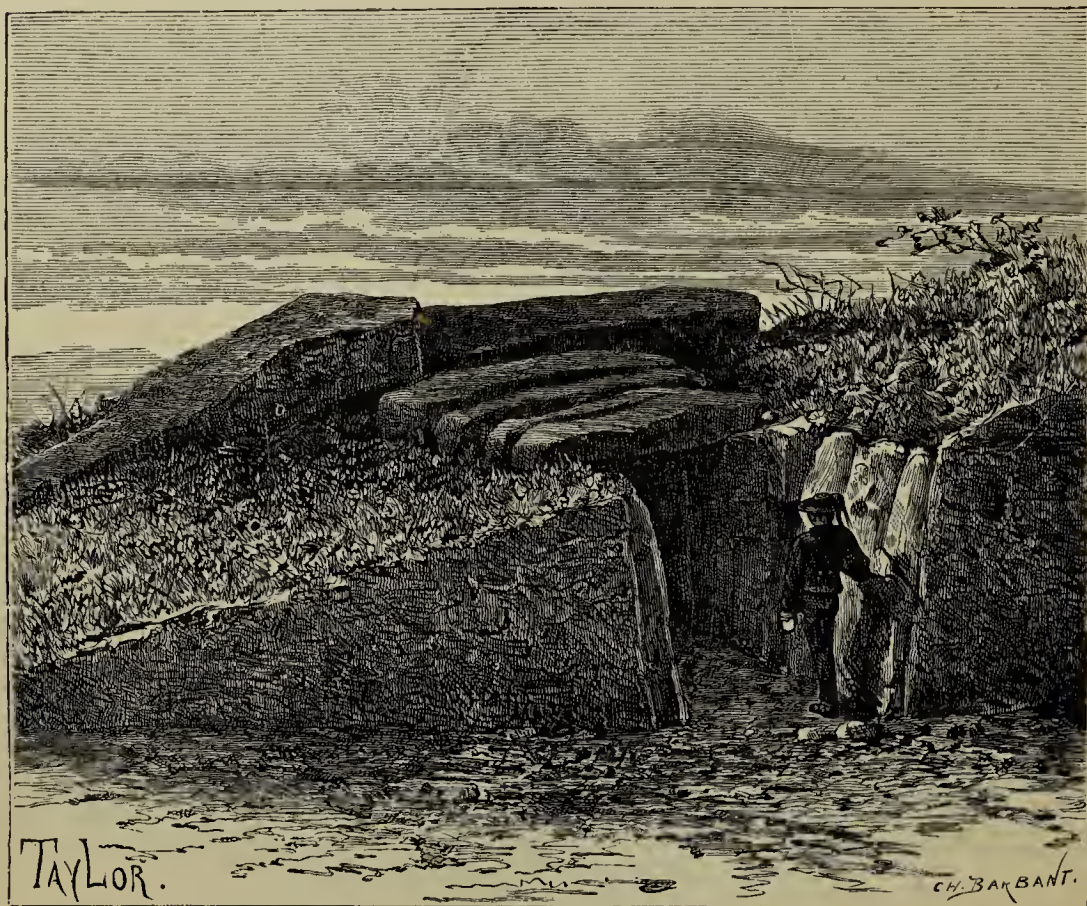
THE MERCHANTS' TABLE AT LOCK-MARIA-KER.

them; they are found in the Caucasus, in Arabia, in Easter Island, lost in the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and even on the coast of Greenland. The ruins of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon, are almost identical in aspect with those of Anglesey in England. A complete circle of Druidic stones exists at Darab, in Persia; and America has the *chalpas* of Peru and Bolivia, and the mounds of Ohio and Mississippi. It is the architecture of primitive humanity, and it marks a stage of culture through which at very various epochs ancient communities have passed.

Many ancient nations formed their first altars and the most ancient monuments of their piety towards the gods or of their gratitude towards men, out of great heaps of earth or unhewn stones



such as Nature provided. The greater the effort, the heavier the stone, the more satisfied they thought the deity would be. From the huge lines of Karnac to the magnificence of the Parthenon is a great distance, but the idea is the same; only the Gauls did not shut up the deity within narrow walls, they gave him temples with the sky for their roof.



COVERED ALLEY OF MANÉ-LUD AT LOCK-MARIA-KER.

The respect for the Druidic stones resisted the reiterated prohibitions of councils to “pray or light torches before the stones,” and it is not yet extinct everywhere. Some Bas-Bretons still attribute supernatural virtues to them. In Normandy, by the fireside in winter, people talk, or quite lately used to talk, of *turning-stones*, which on Christmas night, at twelve o’clock, revolved of themselves.<sup>1</sup> In other places certain customs were connected

<sup>1</sup> The Councils of Arles (in 452), Tours (in 567), Nantes (in 700), etc. (cf. *Cours d’antiquités monumentales*, by M. de Caumont, p. 119). On closing this chapter, I must thank M. Al. Bertrand, who with great kindness placed at my disposal the riches of the Museum of Saint Germain and his own profound knowledge of Celtic and Roman Gaul.

with them. Till recent times, the women of Croisic used to go and dance round the huge menhir, and others scratched the Druidic stones, with the idea that the dust would make them fruitful. At Guérande, the maiden who wished to be married would deposit in the clefts of a dolmen flocks of pink wool tied up with tinsel; at Colombiers, she mounted upon the top stone, placed a piece of money there, and must then jump down alone. These monuments, round which once such terrible scenes used to take place, no longer hear aught but maidens' vows.



## CHAPTER LIV.

### THE GALLIC WAR.

#### I. — GAUL IN THE TIME OF CAESAR.

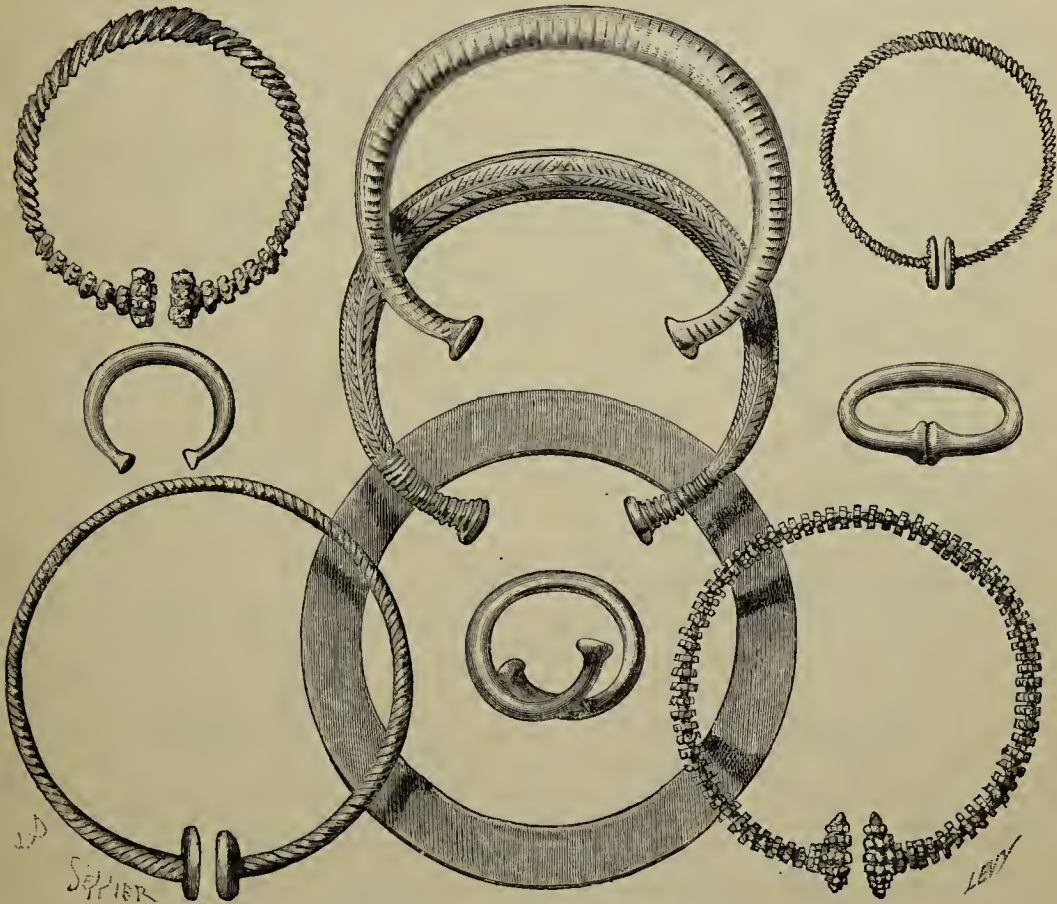
IN the middle of the century preceding the Christian era, many things in Ancient Gaul had changed. The chiefs of the tribes and nobles had thrown off the yoke of the sacerdotal class. The Druidic order, which was then decaying, did not play the part of a national clergy during the war of liberty: one Druid, Divitiacus, was even the guide and friend of Caesar. The aristocracy had, in its turn, found two powerful enemies. Some of its own number, the ablest or bravest, had united several tribes, and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings. At other points the inhabitants of the towns had risen; and the Druids, uniting with the rebels against the nobles who had dispossessed them, had attempted to abolish the aristocratic or royal government, and to replace it by a democratic one, more or less mixed with the former elements. In one district it was the notables (*principes*) and the priests, who, having constituted themselves a senate, appointed the *vergobret* (an annual judge), with jurisdiction in capital cases,<sup>1</sup> and in case of need the leader in war: in another the people had instituted a senate or magistrates, and sometimes a king, who remained dependent upon the public assembly.<sup>2</sup> Caesar relates, that, after his victory over the Helvetii, the chiefs of almost all the cities (*principes civitatum*) came and asked him to authorize them to assemble the council of Gaul.<sup>3</sup> We have already said what must be thought about these general assemblies.

<sup>1</sup> *Vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Each tribe of the Galatae in Asia Minor had also a chief and a senate of three hundred members (*Strabo*, xii. 5, 1).

<sup>3</sup> . . . *Concilium totius Galliae* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 30).

Thus, while Rome was overpowering the Gallic colonies in Italy and Asia Minor, Gaul was rending herself with her own hands, instead of organizing and uniting. No one principle of government had prevailed, — neither royalty, nor aristocracy, nor clergy. This is why Gaul lay open to invaders, — on the north to the Belgae and Germans, on the south to the Roman legions. Amid this chaos, however, some powerful States had been formed. These were the tribes, which,

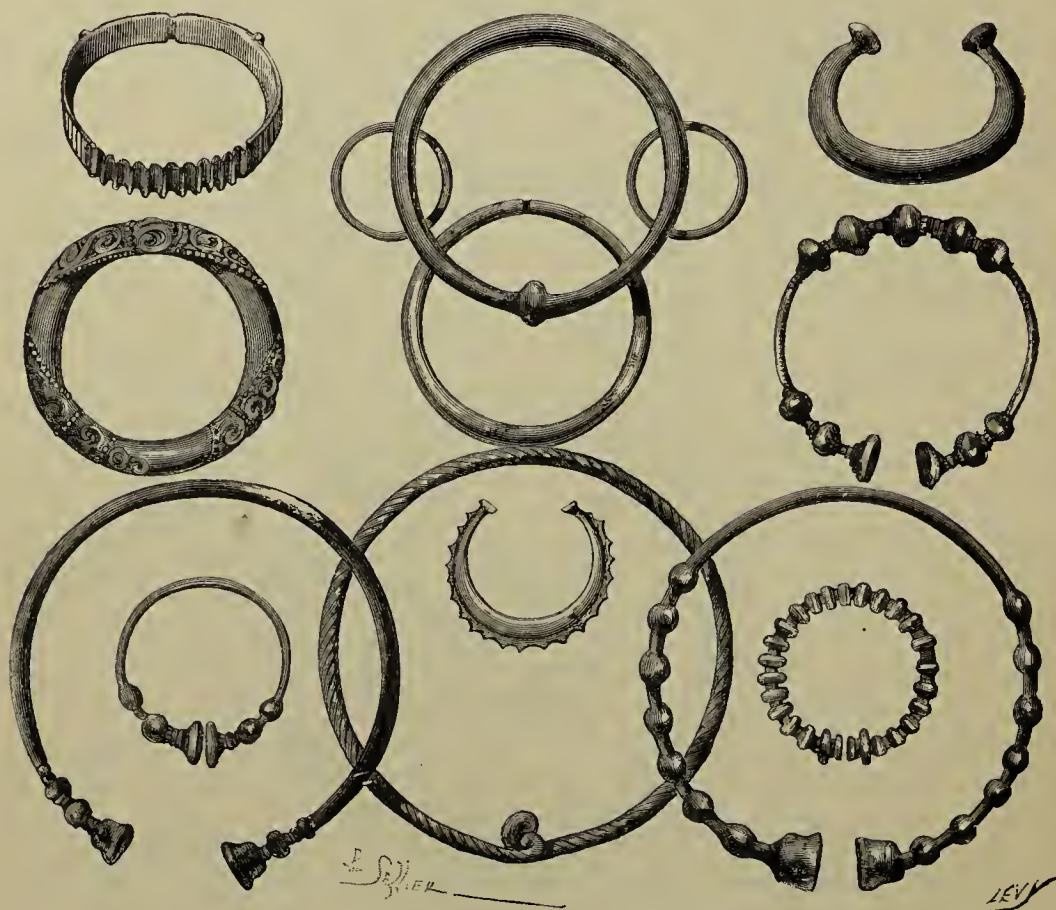


GOLDEN TORQUES<sup>1</sup> (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

being more numerous than their neighbors, had reduced them to dependence. As Gallic freemen placed themselves in the clientship of the great, so the smaller tribes had become, by choice or force, clients of the more powerful tribes, without parting with their internal liberty, and from this resulted great confederations, ruling over vast portions of Gallic territory. According to Strabo's account, the Arverni extended their sovereignty over the whole of Gaul; but this dominion we must reduce to more modest proportions.

<sup>1</sup> All these golden and bronze *torques* and bracelets come from tumuli, and are in the Museum of Saint Germain. See, too, *Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. figs. 1-8.

These nations were ill acquainted with the municipal system, which brought about the greatness of the Graeco-Italians and the civilization of the world. The social form which prevailed among them was that of the clan and of the tribe. The confederations of which we have just spoken were a first attempt at general organization. By spreading, and uniting with one another, they might



BRONZE TORQUES (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

have given peace to the land, and secured its independence. Unhappily the perception of the common peril awakened too late, and the whole of Gaul united itself but once, and then only to fall thus united beneath the sword of Caesar.

Though it could not yet be looked upon as a civilized land, the country had emerged from barbarism. Its tribes were no longer mere hordes of hunters wandering hither and thither, but communities settled upon the soil, whereon their hands and intelligence were already at work. They had a financial organization, custom-



duties, and taxes of various kinds.<sup>1</sup> Caesar contrasts the riches of Gaul with the poverty of Britain and Germany; and the wealth that he obtained from it was enough to buy the Roman people.

In his time the Gauls were acquainted with the art of working mines, and they carried it on very actively. The Aedui had manufactories for gold and silver; the Aquitani, for copper; and the Bituriges, for iron. This latter nation had even discovered the art, which remained traditional among them and their neighbors the Arverni, of plating with tin or white lead. The Aedui had invented silver plating: they thus ornamented the bits and harness of their horses. The chariot of King Bituitus was silvered, or perhaps even covered with silver plates. The chiefs wore iron coats-of-mail, a recent Gallic invention,

and sometimes even a gilded cuirass; and our collections contain a quantity of arms, implements, collars (*torques*, pp. 271, 272), jewels, bronze vases, and enamelled objects manufactured by Gauls. They could weave and brocade stuffs; and their dyes were somewhat



BRONZE VASE SURMOUNTED BY A COCK<sup>2</sup>  
(MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Dumnorigem . . . portoria reliquaue omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 18). The taxes were even extremely heavy: . . . *Cum magnitudine tributorum premuntur* (*Ibid.* vi. 13). The Veneti exacted dues from all who desired to make use of their ports (*Ibid.* iii. 8); the Valaisi, from the merchants who crossed the Great and Lesser Saint Bernard, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The beautiful vase of Graeekwyl was discovered in 1851 in a large tumulus, together with the remains of a chariot, two bronze buckles, and a funeral urn of terra-cotta. If it is not of Gallic manufacture, as the Etruscan or Oriental character of the raised work seems to indicate, it proves the existence of commercial relations with Marseilles, unless it reached the Helvetian chief in whose tomb it was buried, as spoil of war. (The winged deity placed in the centre of the ornamentation is surmounted by a bird in repose, and flanked by four lions and two hares. Above, the wings spread on each side a broad-headed serpent. The Rhodians of Camirus thus represented their Diana; the inhabitants of Santorin did likewise. (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 461 sqq.)

famous. To them have been attributed the invention of the wheeled plough, the harrow, the horse-hair sieve, and the use of marl and ashes for manure. They made various kinds of fermented drinks, such as beer and hydromel. From the froth of beer they made

GALLIC COIN.<sup>1</sup>GALLIC COIN.<sup>2</sup>

yeast or leaven for bread. Although they had little wine, they are said to have been the first to manufacture the casks suitable for preserving it, while the Romans were still keeping it in leathern bottles, or earthenware jars. The rearing of domestic animals was

TETRADRACHM OF PHILIP.<sup>3</sup>

GALLIC IMITATION.

held in honor. Their geldings and oxen were sought after in Italy; and Celtic slaves were renowned for skill in the stables and cattle-stalls. The Massaliots, who were skilful in cultivating the vine and the olive, had taught some of their neighbors, and even the Helvetii, the use of Greek letters: the Arverni, bordering on Gallia Narbonensis, employed the Latin alphabet. We possess a great number

<sup>1</sup> Laurel-crowned head, facing right. On the reverse a horse, a hammer in front of the horse's chest; underneath, a vase or lamp. (*Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. No. 286.) Both coins bear the same stamp on the reverse; but the obverse of the one is barbarous, while upon the other the influence of Marseilles is observable.

<sup>2</sup> Bust on the obverse. On the reverse a horse driven by a wild boar: underneath, an arrow fitted to a bow. (*Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. No. 288.)

<sup>3</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ, a Macedonian warrior on horseback, bearing a palm; underneath, a bunch of grapes. The comparison of these four pieces shows the difference between the Greek and Gallic civilizations and the effort made by the latter to imitate the former. The Gallic coins differ more and more from their models. Symbols and local emblems become more numerous around the horse and the boar, the national emblems; and there are what might be called federal coins, on which the symbols peculiar to several nations are united, proving that these coins circulated throughout the confederacy. After the conquest of Narbonensis, the Roman influence naturally made itself felt, especially in the centre of the country, where are found coins with Graeco-Latin legends.





VASE FROM GRÆCKWYL

From the Museum of Saint-Germain

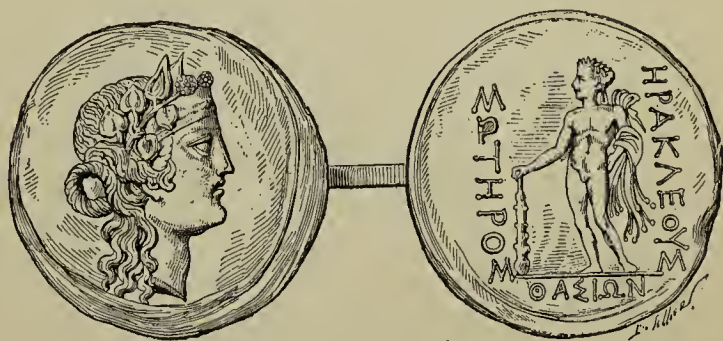




of Gallic coins: on many of them is seen a horse without bridle, or a wild boar, — the double symbol of liberty and war.

Their monetary system was the same as that of the Gauls of the Danube, who, after the pillage of Greece, had copied the magnificent staters of Philip II., those of Thasos, and others. In their unskilled hands, however, the design had lost its beauty; but a sufficient number of these Macedonian pieces had found their way into Gaul to lead to the establishment of several mints, which produced some curious types, whereon the vanity of the chiefs led them to have themselves represented.<sup>1</sup>

The activity of their commerce explains the wealth of Gaul; and it was facilitated by the bridges thrown across the rivers, the solidly constructed roads even across marshes,<sup>2</sup> a very active river navigation, and much coined money, which promoted exchange. The fine



TETRADRACHM OF THASOS.<sup>3</sup>

garnets which they found at the foot of many of their hills were much sought after by the Greeks, from the time of Alexander. By way of the Saône and the Rhone, the Sequani sent their salted provisions to Marseilles, whence they were distributed through Italy and Greece; and the Massaliot sailors also carried thither the cheeses of the Cevennes and the Alps, the wines of Béziers and of the slopes of the Durance, and slaves, who might sometimes be bought for an amphora of wine. In those days, with the immense demand for

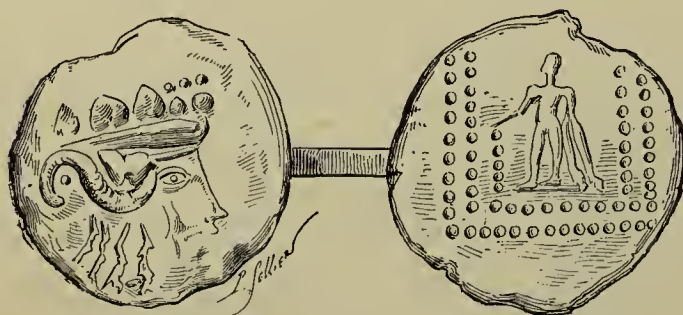
<sup>1</sup> In respect to the numerous mines in Gaul, see Ern. Desjardins (*Op. cit.* i. pp. 409–433). It has lately been discovered that tin was worked in Gaul in very early times; and digging for copper, silver, and gold, was more actively carried on there than it is now. The ancients, having many slaves, employed them on works producing little profit, not sufficient to maintain our free laborers; and, moreover, thanks to commerce, the rich lodes have caused the poor ones to be abandoned. Thus we see why Gaul was renowned for its wealth of precious metals, and France is not.

<sup>2</sup> There still exist remains of the Gallic high-roads; and Caesar speaks of bridges built upon the Aisne, the Seine, the Loire, the Allier, and even the Rhone.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Bacchus. On the reverse *HPAKΛEΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΩΑΣΙΩΝ*; Heracles stands, leaning on his club, holding the skin of the Nemean lion.

slaves that existed among civilized nations, man was the commodity most in request, the one which could always be disposed of quickly and advantageously; and of this merchandise Gaul furnished much. She also exported coarse cloth and black pottery, and had frequent intercourse with the Island of Britain, the mart of which was Corbilo, at the mouth of the Loire. The Veneti around Morbihan even possessed a navy which in certain respects was superior to that of Rome or Greece. For the oar, the motive-power of war-fleets in classic times, they had substituted the sail, which allowed of distant voyages, and has been used up to our own days.

Towns multiplied, and were surrounded with ramparts formed



GALLIC IMITATION OF A COIN OF THASOS.

of several layers of trees and stones alternately, as was seen in the remains of the wall of Mursceints. The trees roughly hewn into beams, each forty feet long, were held together by inner cross-beams. Fire had no

effect upon the stones; and the battering-rams could do nothing against beams, the ends of which only they could reach. Julius Caesar admired this ingenious combination.

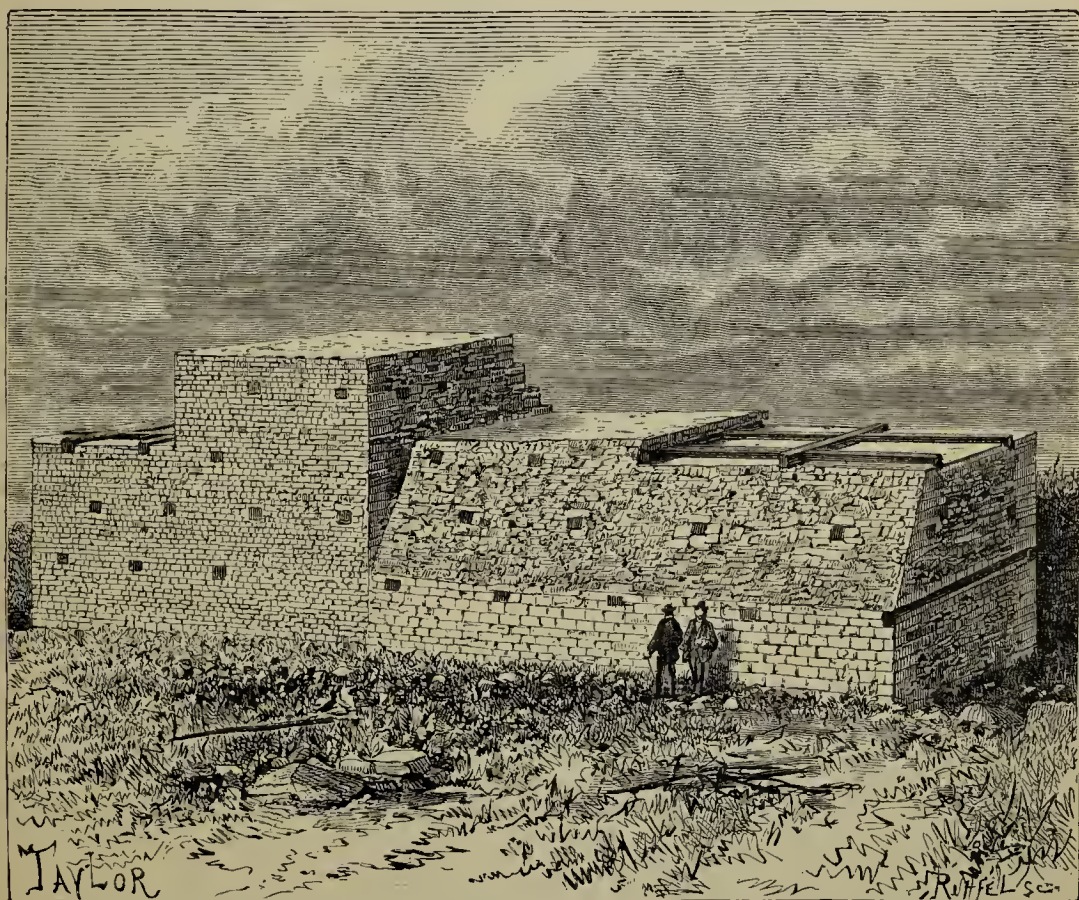
At Peran, near Saint Briec, and elsewhere, something more remarkable has been found, — a wall cemented with melted glass, a “glass castle,” as it is called by the Scotch, who have seven or eight of these vitrified ramparts. This miracle was not difficult to execute: layers of sand and brush, with a great fire kept up for several days, would effect it. Some fire lighted on the strand or on the moorland no doubt revealed to the Gauls how easily sand could be vitrified. Thus the Phoenicians are said to have discovered the art of making glass.

Thus, alone and unaided, Gaul was developing. The country was divided indeed, but less so than Greece and Italy had been; and the elements of strength and civilization were not wanting. The questions have been asked: What would Gaul have become without the Roman Conquest? Was the loss of her independence a boon? Might there not, under the peaceful influence of the arts of Greece



and Italy, have issued finally from the Gallic society itself a civilization more original, and perhaps better, than that which Rome ingrafted?

Doubtless it is a pity that Gaul did not reach the complete development of her national life; but it was impossible that she should do so. Placed between the Romans, who in order to



OPPIDUM OF MURSCEINTS<sup>1</sup> (RESTORATION IN RELIEF IN THE MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN), p. 276.

protect Italy needed to have possession of the approaches to it, and the Germans, who for more than twenty centuries have coveted Gaul, this country could not fail to be the battlefield of the two hostile races. It was in Gaul that Marius had conquered the Teutons; it was there that Caesar was about to fight Ariovistus; and there, again, that the emperors, to the last days of the Empire, arrested invasions. The war which was about to commence was one of those historical fatalities over which thoughtful minds

<sup>1</sup> Restoration of the Gallie wall, the remains of which were discovered in 1868.

spend no vain regrets. "Since the rise of our Empire," says Cicero, "there is no man, who, having a clear view of the conditions of the existence of our Republic, has not thought that the Gauls constituted its greatest danger,"<sup>1</sup> and consequently their subjection was a necessity for Rome.



COIN OF  
THE ALLOB-  
ROGES.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that the Romans had commenced the conquest of the Transalpine country sixty years previously, and that the tribes settled between Geneva and Toulouse and between Toulouse and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges had recognized the authority of the Senate. From their great settlements of Narbo and Aquae Sextiae, the Romans kept watch over "long-haired" Gaul. They had humbled the powerful tribe of the Arverni by the defeat of Bituitus, and for their own interest had granted protection to the Aedui.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the fear or the confidence with which Rome inspired these two nations which surrounded the Province had allowed the governors to impose all kinds of exactions with impunity. When the Allobroges, their patience being exhausted, rebelled, after the conspiracy of Catiline, they were crushed (61), and not a single Gaul drew his sword for them. Indeed, the condition of the country was not such that its tribes could devote themselves to a policy of war. Since the revolution which had overthrown the aristocratic forms of government, two parties had been formed in every city and village and almost in every family. The new republics, too young for their liberty to be a peaceful one, were subject to all the storms raised by rival or dissatisfied ambitions. About the time of Caesar's consulship, a chief of the Arverni had perished at the stake for attempting to re-establish the proscribed royal power;<sup>4</sup> and at the very time certain nobles among the Helvetii, the Sequani, and the Aedui, were plotting the overthrow of the democratic government. Moreover, all the tribes were rivals: every year war broke out at many points.<sup>5</sup> Proud of the humiliation of the Arverni and of the title of "allies of Rome,"

<sup>1</sup> *De Provinciis consularibus*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Chamois and wheel. Reverse of a coin of the Allobroges. The coins of the Allobroges of the mountains have, like this one, a chamois stamped on them. The others, belonging to the Allobroges of the shores of Lake Lemman, have a hippocampus. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xxxvii. 47-48; Livy, *Epit.* ciii.

<sup>4</sup> Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Bellum incidit fere quotannis* (Caesar, *Ibid.* vi. 15).



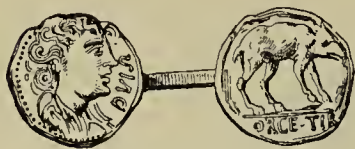
the Aedui had taken advantage of their power, and of the fear inspired by the legions, to oppress their neighbors. Masters of the mid-course of the Loire through the fortified position of Noviodunum, and of that of the Saône through Châlon and Mâcon, they had forbidden the Arverni the navigation of the first-named of these rivers, and took heavy toll of the goods that the Sequani sent to Marseilles by the other. Driven to extremities, these two nations had united, and in order to make sure of the victory had taken into their pay fifteen thousand Suevi, with their chief, Ariovistus. The Aedui had been defeated, and obliged to give hostages; but the rejoicing of the Sequani over their victory had been speedily brought to an end. Having come from the damp forests and uncultivated lands of Germany, Ariovistus now refused to leave the beautiful country so imprudently laid open to him. Under various pretexts, he sent for eight times as many warriors as he had promised, and he demanded for them a third of the territory of the Sequani. The Aedui and Sequani, united by a common oppression, rose together against the German king. He evaded their wrath by

DIANA FOUND AT CHÂLON.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2957.



taking refuge beyond certain marshes, tired out their patience, and then seized a favorable opportunity for overpowering them. Their defeat at the confluence of the Saône and Oignon rendered him more rapacious. Now he required another third of the lands of the Sequani for twenty-four thousand Harudes, his allies.

COIN OF THE AEDUI.<sup>1</sup>

Against these conquerors from the East, the Gauls invoked those from the South. Divitiacus, one of the leading men of the Aedui, came to Rome to claim the protection so often promised to his brethren. The answer was long delayed. An unexpected event compelled the Senate to pay more attention to these complaints. News came that the Helvetii, tired of the continual incursions of the Suevi, intended to set forth to seek on the shores of great Ocean a milder climate and a more tranquil life. But, with their allies of the right bank of the Rhine, the Helvetii numbered nearly four hundred thousand souls,<sup>3</sup> and they intended taking the road through the Province. There was a double danger for Rome in this project: Helvetia when deserted would be occupied by the Suevi, whose prox-

ORGETORIX.<sup>2</sup>COIN OF DUMNORIX.<sup>4</sup>

imity was to be dreaded, and in traversing Gaul these four hundred thousand emigrants would cause disorders there, the consequences of which could not be foreseen. Moreover, one of their chiefs, Orgetorix, hoped that, under cover of these movements, he might recover the royal authority which his forefathers had exercised. Casticus, a chief of the Sequani, and Dumnorix the Aeduan, having been initiated into his schemes, were to second him, and to receive from him the support necessary to effect

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin of the Aedui; a bear.

<sup>2</sup> Bust of Diana with a necklace of pearls and her quiver on her shoulder: the word EDVIS recalls the alliance between the Aedui and the Helvetii, attested by Caesar. On the reverse a bear, which Berne has retained in its arms. Silver denarius. We borrow from M. de Saulcy (*Numismatique des chefs gaulois*) all the coins given in our narrative of the Gallic wars.

<sup>3</sup> According to the registers, kept in the Greek language, which Caesar found in their camp, the emigrants numbered three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, of whom ninety-two thousand were fighting men (*Bell. Gall. i. 29*).

<sup>4</sup> Dumnorix, or Doubnorix. Head with the hair in great curls and with the *torques*. On the reverse a horse galloping. (De Saulcy, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 9.)

a similar revolution in their own country; then these barbaric leaders proposed to subdue the whole of Gaul.<sup>1</sup> The plans of Orgetorix were discovered; but the death of that chief did not divert the nation from their projected plan of emigration. At Rome a well-grounded alarm prevailed, for men called to mind the part which the Helvetii had taken in the Cimbrian invasion forty years previously. Three senators were despatched to Gaul with a *senatus-consultum*, giving the governor of Narbonensis unlimited power to do whatever he should consider useful to the Republic, and to protect the allies of the Roman people. The Aedui, won over by this decree, undertook, with the aid of the Sequani, to close the passes of Mount Jura.

The Helvetii and their allies had allowed themselves three years to complete their preparations:<sup>2</sup> the third year fell in the proconsulship of Caesar. Thus it was to him that this war would fall, in execution of the senatorial decree of 61. In anticipation of it, and with the design of sowing discord in advance among his enemies, he sought, as early as the year 59, to attach Ariovistus to himself by causing to be conferred upon him the title of "friend of the Roman people." The barbarian king gave a promise, in fact, that he would offer no obstacle to the plan decided upon against the Helvetii. In March, 58 B.C., Caesar set out for Narbonensis, one of his three provinces, and in eight days reached Geneva. The Helvetii, in order to deprive themselves of all desire to return, had just burned their twelve cities and four hundred villages: they had agreed to meet on the banks of the Rhone on the 28th of March.

## II. — CAESAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN (58); VICTORIES OVER THE HELVETII AND ARIOVISTUS.

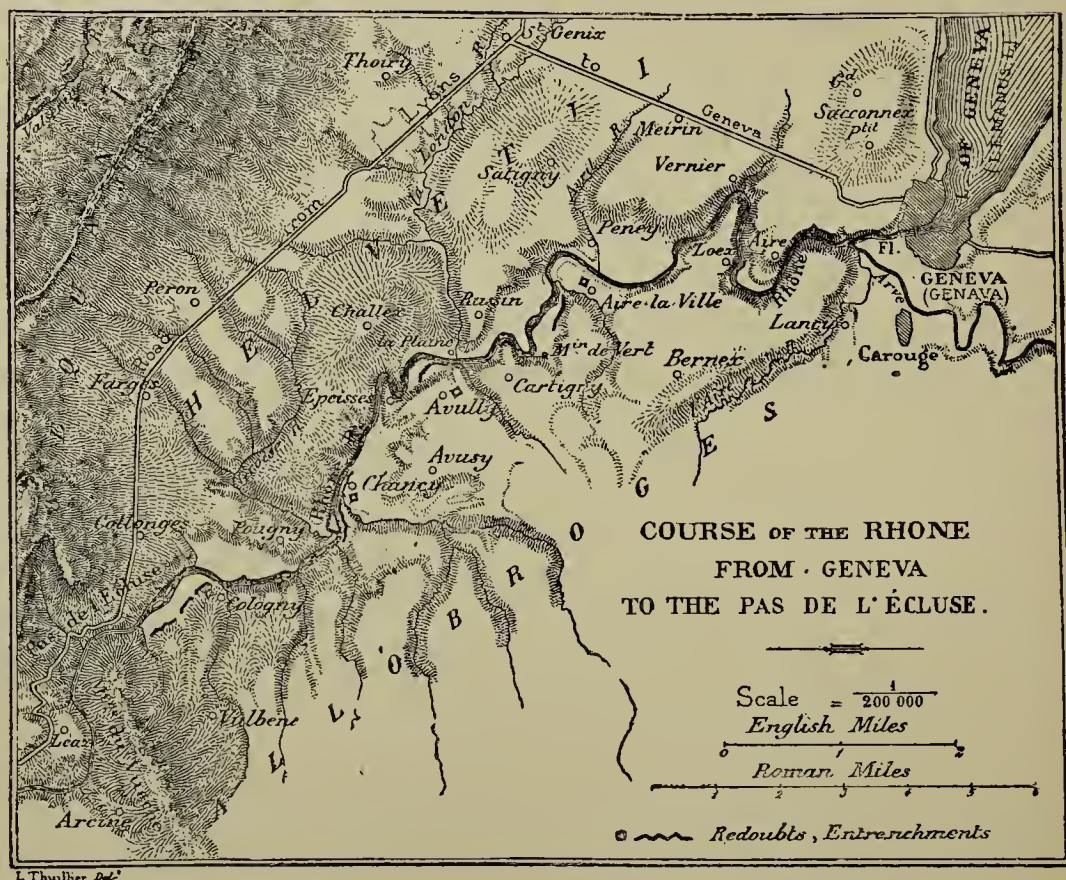
THE Rhone, descending from the Saint Gothard, flows between two chains of lofty mountains as far as Lake Lemman, which it forms, and whence it issues at Geneva to dash itself, a few leagues

<sup>1</sup> *Per tres potentissimos . . . Galliae totius sese potiri posse sperant* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* i. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *Ibid.* i. 3: *In tertium annum.*



below that town, against the Jura and a spur of the Alps called Mount Vuache. After a struggle in which the river finally triumphs, it makes a breach in the mountain, and it emerges from Switzerland through a tremendous gorge which separates Franche-Comté from Savoy, the country of the Sequani from that of the Allobroges. To



COURSE OF THE RHONE, FROM GENEVA TO THE PAS DE L'ÉCLUSE.

reach the interior of Gaul, there was no other way for the Helvetii, unless they plunged into the ravines of the Southern Jura, scarcely practicable for a migration of this kind, or crossed the Rhone at some point between Lake Lemman and the mountains of the Allobroges. But Caesar was at Geneva, and had already broken down the bridge there. The Helvetii, hesitating to entangle themselves in the Pas de l'Écluse, where a few resolute men might stop an army, asked of the proconsul a passage through the territory of the Allobroges. As he had as yet only one legion, he postponed his answer till the 13th



COIN OF THE  
ALLOBRO-  
GES.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hippocampus. Reverse of a silver coin of the Allobroges of Lake Lemman.















of April, thus giving himself a delay of fifteen days, of which he made good use. When the deputies returned, they found that these few days had sufficed him to fortify all the easily accessible points on the left bank of the river, from the Jura to the extremity of Lake Lemman,—a distance of over sixteen miles.<sup>1</sup> Troops hurriedly brought from the Province lined the ramparts, and all the attempts of the Barbarians to force a passage across the Rhone failed. They were obliged to fall back upon the Jura route. Dumnorix and Casticus obtained for them the consent of the Sequani, and, paying no heed to the refusal of the Aedui, the horde made their way towards the Saône, rejoicing that they had left behind them those dangerous defiles.



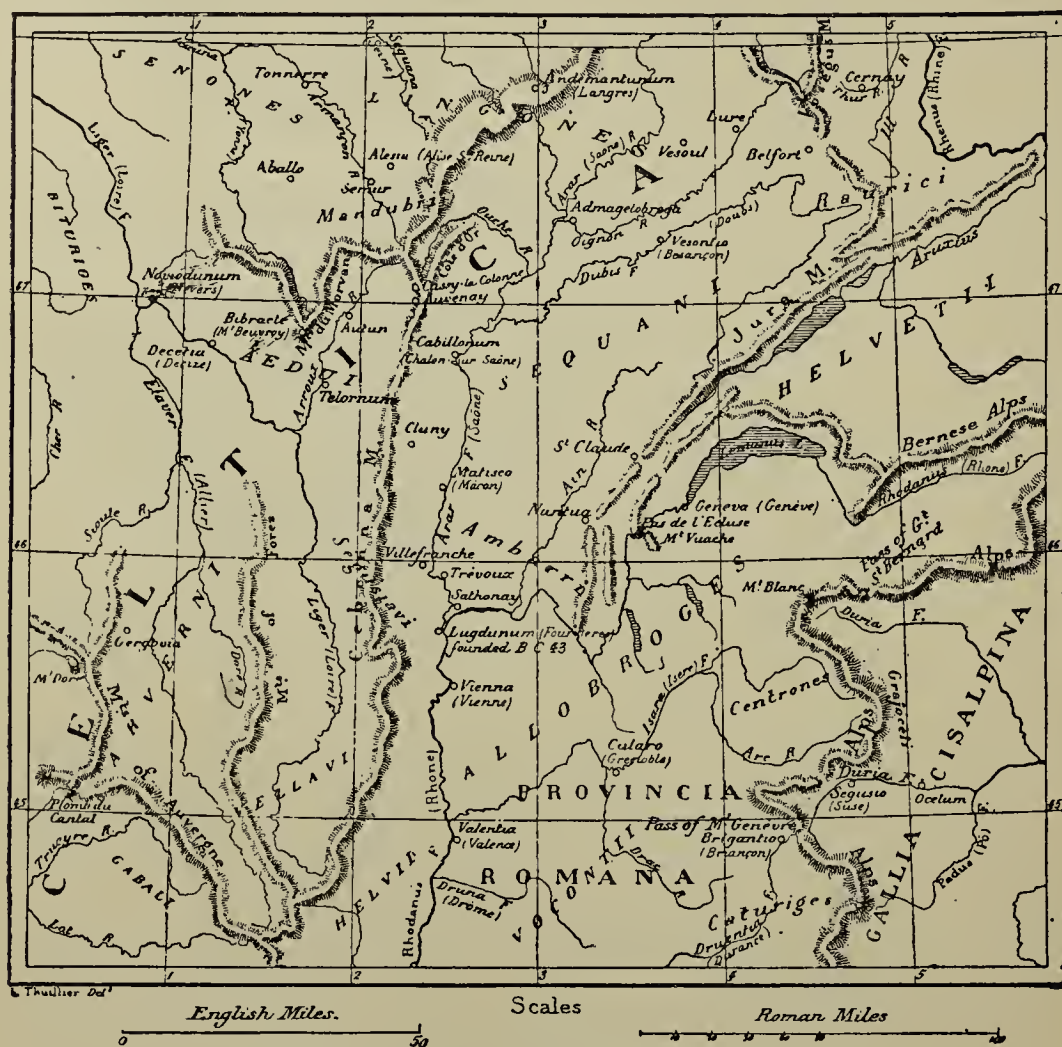
CUPS OF THE SEQUANI AND REMI, OF RED EARTHENWARE.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Napoleon III., who had the ground carefully studied, does not think that Caesar formed a continuous intrenchment, as his words would indicate (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 8). From a report drawn up by Baron Stoffel, who was sent by the emperor to make a survey of the place, it appears that the points fortified by Caesar must have been as follows: the first, below Aire-la-Ville; the second, to the north of Cartigny; the third, to the north-west of Avully; the fourth, below Chaney, on the two sides of the Laire, where it enters the Rhone; the fifth, between Coligny and Pas de l'Écluse. These works are the first examples of the lines of defence with which the Empire was afterwards to protect every vulnerable part of its frontiers. At the present day there exists in this part of the course of the Rhone only one ford,—between Russin on the right, and Le Moulin de Vert on the left. The second volume of the "*Vie de César*" of Napoleon III. is the most complete commentary yet made upon Caesar's book, thanks to the careful study of known localities, the search for those about which doubt has existed, the numerous excavations ordered, and the examination of all questions of topography, archæology, military art, and science involved in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The cup of the Sequani was found at Geneva in 1862 (cf. *Gazette arch.*, 1877, p. 179).



By skilful management, and without the loss of a single man, Caesar had thus saved the Province from a dangerous invasion. The peril was thrown back upon the Aedui; but Caesar had already resolved to make use of the authority given by the senatus-con-



MAP FOR THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CAESAR.

sultum of 61 B.C., to go outside of his provinces, and succor the allies of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The march of the Helvetii was so slow, that he had time to go to Italy for five legions, and return to find the Barbarians still

and pl. 17). With it we give that of the Remi, which is very much like it, and a transcript of the two inscriptions: *Sequanis Felicitas*; *Remis Feliciter* (*Ibid.*).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 282. Caesar availed himself of the authority given him by this senatus-consultum for the whole of his war against the Gauls: it secured legality for his operations, without the necessity of obtaining further decrees from the Senate or the people, and thus allowed him to raise fresh legions, and to add war to war each year, till the whole of Gaul was conquered (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 35).

occupied, as they had been for the last twenty days, in crossing the Saône, which the Aeduan troops had not dared to defend. He probably established himself at Sathonay, and waited there till three-quarters of the hostile army had reached the other side of the river, when he destroyed the rear-guard, left upon the eastern bank, on the hill of Mâcon (in June); then, throwing his whole army across the river in one day, he came upon the entire horde, which was moving northwards. For a fortnight he followed it at a very short distance, without finding an opportunity for an engagement, until, provisions failing him through the treachery of Dumnorix, he resolved to go and obtain them from the very capital of the Aedui, Bibracte (on Mount Beuvray, eight miles from Autun). The Helvetii believed him to be retreating, and fell upon his rear-guard; but they found the whole army drawn up in battle-array, and there ensued a violent struggle, which lasted until the middle of the night, with immense slaughter among the Gauls. At the commencement of the action, Caesar had sent away his horse as a sign that he wished to share all the perils of his soldiers (end of June, or beginning of July). The remainder of the horde hastened its march northwards in order to reach the Rhine and Germany. Being soon overtaken, they gave up their arms, and, by order of the proconsul, the survivors of this disastrous migration (a hundred and ten thousand men) returned to their mountains, which



MONUMENT OF CUSSY, NEAR  
AUTUN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Revue arch.*, 1860 and 1879. The last act of the battle against the Helvetii has been placed on the *chaumes* (stubble-fields) of Auenay, twelve miles from Autun, and it has been thought that the fragments of the Column of Cussy found at that spot were the remains of a monument commemorative of Caesar's victory. But the "Commentaries" give no geographical information by which the scene of the action can be recognized. The numerous barrows of



Caesar was unwilling to leave for the occupation of the Germans. The Allobroges received orders to provide them with wheat until they had sowed their land again.

The Boii, a tribe in alliance with the Helvetii, remained, with Caesar's permission, among the Aedui, who established them upon their south-western frontier (Beaujolais) to defend it against the Arverni. They were the descendants of that brave nation which had quitted Italy rather than live there subject to Rome. Threatened on the banks of the Danube by the Getae, they had joined their fortunes with those of the Helvetii, and returned, after a lapse of more than five centuries, to their early fatherland. There they were again doomed to meet with the dominion which they had so long avoided.

Gaul was then placed between two invasions, — that of the Suevi, a wild and barbaric force; and that of the Romans, an admirably organized power, — both of them formidable to a people who did not know how to unite their interests and their valor. The Suevi inspired fear by their barbarism. "Every year," says Caesar, "the warriors go in search of combats and booty. They never dwell in the same district more than one year: they live less on wheat than on milk, meat, and game. Their garments are the skins of beasts, which leave the greater part of the body exposed. They do not allow wine or foreign commodities to be brought among them, and love to surround themselves with vast solitudes. These great depopulated territories appear to them to reflect glory upon the nation which has committed such ravages: they are a proof that many tribes were unable to resist their arms. It is said that behind them, on the east, they have rendered desert a space of six hundred thousand paces." No wonder that Gaul, unable to close her gates against guests like these, was eager to free herself from them by the hand of Rome.

The war with the Helvetii being over, Caesar found himself opposed to Ariovistus. He took care not to reject the entreaties of the Gauls when the deputies of the principal cities, gathered in general assembly (*concilium totius Galliae*), came to implore his support against the German king; for these Barbarians were a far greater

the plateau are a very ancient cemetery, not the immense ossuary of a battlefield, and the architectural details of the column indicate an epoch posterior to that of the Antonines. Nevertheless, we give a representation of the monument, which has played an important part in the attempts made to discover the spot where Caesar gained his first great victory.

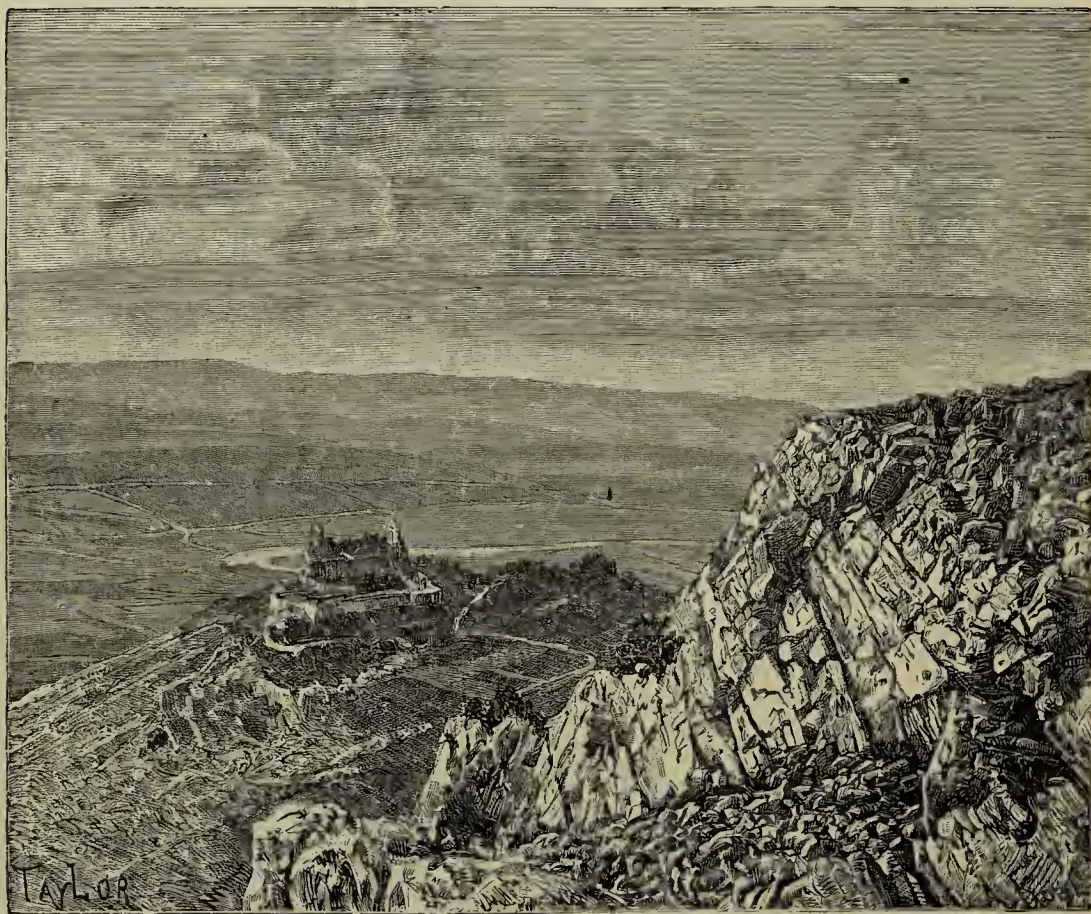
cause of uneasiness to the Roman province than the Helvetii had been. Hannibal had imposed upon Rome the necessity of subduing Spain, whence had come the great blow of the Second Punic War: the conquest of that country had compelled the Senate to secure a road between the Alps and the Pyrenees, and the safety of the province formed along this military road required that the territorial *status quo* created in Gaul by the victories of Fabius and Domitius should not be changed. Such is the chain of historic necessities from which the Gallic war was the last and glorious consequence.

The proconsul sent to Ariovistus proposing an interview. The latter replied haughtily, "If I wanted Caesar, I should go in search of him: Caesar wants me, let him come to me." The proconsul making a threatening answer, Ariovistus retorted, "No man ever yet attacked me who did not have cause to repent of it. If Caesar desires, let us try our strength against each other, and he will learn what these warriors are, who for fourteen years have never slept under a roof." At the same time, the Aedui reported that the Harudes were invading their lands; and the Treveri sent word that new troops, furnished by the hundred districts of the Suevi, were approaching the Rhine. All Germany was astir, and there was not a moment to lose in repelling the invasion, of which Ariovistus was but the vanguard.

Caesar hastened towards him by forced marches in the direction of the important stronghold of Vesontio (Besançon), which Ariovistus attempted to seize, but was forestalled by Caesar, who reached the place about the beginning of August. The description he gives of it proves the exactness of the information he obtained, for this description might serve at the present day: "The city is so well defended by nature, that it affords every facility for war. The Dubis surrounds it almost completely, with the exception of a space sixteen hundred feet wide, which is occupied by a hill, whose base on each side is washed by the river. A wall surrounds it, and makes of it a fortress which is united to the city." Here Caesar halted a few days to collect provisions and gain a knowledge of the country. This delay was near proving fatal to him. His soldiers, terrified by the stories of the inhabitants about the great stature and courage of the Germans, were unwilling to advance farther. Throughout the camp every man made his will. Those least alarmed pointed out the diffi-



culty of the roads, the depth of the forests, the impossibility of transport or revictualling: it was even reported to Caesar that the soldiers had resolved not to obey him when he gave the order to raise the standards. He assembled a council of war, at which the centurions were present; he reminded them of all the victories of the legions over the nations of the north, — those of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutons, of Crassus over the gladiators, those he himself had just won over the Helvetii, so often themselves conquerors of the Suevi; and



ENVIRONS OF BESANÇON.

he represented Ariovistus as having gained the advantage over the Gauls only by subterfuges useless against Romans. "As for those," said he, "who, in order to hide their fears, talk of the difficulty of the roads and of obtaining provisions, they are very rash to pretend to point out to their general his duties, or to think that he will forget them. That is his care, and he has provided for it. The wheat will be furnished by the Sequani, the Lingones (Langres), and the Leuci (Toul): already it stands ripe in the fields. As for the roads,

they shall soon judge of them. It is asserted that the soldiers will refuse to obey. Their general does not believe this; for an army never becomes mutinous but with an incapable or criminal leader. For himself, his whole life bears witness to his integrity; and the war with the Helvetii, to his good fortune. Accordingly he will fix the start earlier. 'On the following night, at the fourth watch, the camp shall be struck; for he is impatient to see whether fear triumphs over duty and honor in the hearts of his soldiers. Should the army not follow him, he will set out with only the tenth legion: it shall be his praetorian cohort.' The tenth legion, flattered by the confidence he had shown in it, promised its absolute devotion; and the others, through their tribunes and centurions, protested their submission to the orders of the leader, "who alone had the direction of the war."

Two roads led from Besançon to the valley of the Rhine: the one shorter, but mountainous and wooded, and consequently difficult; the other fifty miles longer, skirting this thick forest in the direction between Besançon and Vesoul. Caesar took the latter, and, after seven days' march, arrived in the valley of the Upper Rhine, whither no Roman had ever yet penetrated. Ariovistus was encamped there. He asked of the proconsul a conference midway between the two camps. Each repaired thither with ten horsemen: those of Caesar were soldiers of the tenth legion, whom he had mounted on Gallic horses. "He exceeds his promises," said they; "he was to make us praetorians, and here we are knights (*equites*)."<sup>1</sup> Ariovistus reproached the proconsul with having entered his territories as a foe. This part of Gaul, he said, was his province, as the Senate had theirs. He was not such a barbarian as not to understand, that, under the mask of friendship, Caesar was intending to subjugate the Gauls; and he added, "If thou dost not depart with thy army, I shall treat thee as an enemy; and know that many messengers have come to me on behalf of the nobles of Rome, offering me their friendship and their gratitude if I rid them of thee.<sup>1</sup> But leave me in free possession of Gaul, and, without fatigue or danger on thy part, I will take upon myself all the wars that thou wouldest undertake."

<sup>1</sup> Caesar gives these as the words of Ariovistus. Are they authentic? The implacable hatred of the nobles against the proconsul of Gaul, whom at a later period they would have willingly given up to the Germans, would lead us to think so.



Caesar had no idea of retiring; but Ariovistus refused battle for several days. This was because the women-diviners of the Suevi



MEDALLION OF OLBIA (OBVERSE).<sup>1</sup>

had consulted the Fates by listening to the murmur of the waters, and studying the circles made by a stone thrown into the river; and the Fates had replied, "You must not fight till after the new moon has shown its silver crescent." Upon hearing this from some prisoners, Caesar was only the more anxious to bring on the action. He succeeded in forcing the Germans to accept the combat before the lucky

time fixed by their prophetesses. The battle was a desperate one, but ended disastrously for the Barbarians (10th of September). Only a small number escaped, and among them Ariovistus, who was wounded, and with difficulty recrossed the Rhine. A few days before the battle, Ariovistus again asking for an interview, Caesar had sent him M. Mettius, and the Gaul Valerius Procillus, whose father had obtained from one of the governors of Gallia Narbonensis the title of citizen. Procillus spoke Celtic, and could converse with the German, who understood that language. But, upon their entry into his camp, he treated them as spies, and had them



MEDALLION OF OLBIA (REVERSE).

<sup>1</sup> Mask, or gorgon, front face. On the reverse, ΑΡΧΙ, the initials of ἀρχιερεύς (?), high priest, or ἀρχιερατικόν (?), pontifical; eagle upon a fish. Bronze medallion of Olbia.

put in irons. In the rout their guards were dragging them away, when Caesar, who was pursuing the enemy at the head of his cavalry, rescued them. Fortune, he said, was unwilling to mar the joy of his triumph by the loss of the man most highly esteemed in the Province, his guest and his friend. Procillus related how he had thrice seen the Fates consulted in order to decide whether he should be burnt immediately or later. Two of the wives of Ariovistus and one of his daughters were killed, and probably many of their female companions; for the women had placed themselves, as at the battle of Aquae Sextiae, on the chariots with which the Suevi had covered the flanks and rear of the army.

The news of this defeat spread joy through Gaul, and grief through Germany. The Suevi withdrew from the Rhine, and plunged into their forests. In a single campaign Caesar had terminated two formidable wars (58 B.C.). He returned into Cisalpine Gaul to pass the winter, there to receive the congratulations of his friends at Rome, and to fulfil the judicial duties of his office by holding assizes (*conventus*) in the principal towns of the province. Thence, too, he watched the restless tribes of Pannonia. They also were Celts, and at the report of the Gallic combats and the victories of their neighbors, the Getae, over the Greeks of Olbia and the coast of Thrace,<sup>1</sup> might be tempted to take the road to the Adriatic, where they would have found the bones of the legions destroyed by their forefathers. Skilful negotiations, of which only faint traces remain, retained the Pannonians in alliance with Rome; and Caesar, having nothing to fear for his eastern provinces, could strip them of troops, and carry all his forces into Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

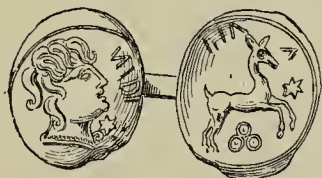
<sup>1</sup> The rich city of Olbia, on the Hypanis (Bug), and all the towns of the north-western littoral of the Empire, as far as Apollonia, were destroyed about this time by the Getae (Dion Chrys. *Orat.* xxxvi.).

<sup>2</sup> The Gauls of the Danube had, like our own, already issued from the state of barbarism. As early as the fourth century before Christ, they had struck coins (see p. 290); whereas the Germans had no coinage until Charlemagne's time, and the Slavs, not until the eleventh century of our era (Fr. von Pulszky, *Monum. de la domination celtique en Hongrie*, in the *Revue arch.*, September, 1879).



## III.—SECOND CAMPAIGN: OPERATIONS AGAINST THE BELGAE (56 B.C.).

THE defeat of Ariovistus had freed the Aedui and Sequani from slavery; but some of their clients, instead of again placing themselves under their protection, had entreated that of the Remi, a powerful tribe of Belgica; and Caesar had not opposed this defection. Moreover, instead of returning into Italy, the legions had taken up winter-quarters upon their territory, and it appeared that the valley of the Saône was already, like that of the Rhone, a Roman province. Discontent succeeded enthusiasm. The Aedui and Sequani feared they had only changed masters. The people were exasperated at a remark made by Caesar which had given rise to the belief that he proposed re-establishing royalty; and ambitious men apprehended that it was no longer their adversaries, but Rome, with whom they must now contend. A fresh war postponed these fears for a time.

ALOBRODIIOS.<sup>1</sup>GALBA.<sup>2</sup>

The Belgae had met in general assembly, and had decided upon a levy in mass: two hundred and ninety-six thousand men were to be ready in the spring, under the orders of Galba, the war-chief of the Suessiones and Bellovaci. Warned of these movements by letters from his lieutenant Labienus, Caesar enrolled two new legions in Italy, despatched them towards Belgica, and, as soon as the season permitted, arrived in person upon the frontier. He had long beforehand prepared the Remi to play in the north the part which Massilia had played in the south, and

ANTEBROGIUS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of chief named ALOBRODIIOS, of the tribe of the Remi, or the Suessiones.

<sup>2</sup> Head ornamented with a *torquis*, with the name of CALOVA, or Galoua, which Caesar makes into Galba (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 30).

<sup>3</sup> Tiara, with diadem. On the reverse a horse galloping; below, the wild boar standard: ANDECOM (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 15).

the Aedui in the centre; that is to say, to open to him the country, to guide him in his march, and to prepare the way for defections. They acquitted themselves of the task with shameful devotion. Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the principal chiefs, came to tell him that their nation intrusted themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, that they would do all that was ordered them, that they would deliver up hostages, their strongholds, and provisions. Caesar required the whole senate to come to him, and the sons of the most noble families to be given him as hostages.



BATTLE OF THE AISNE.

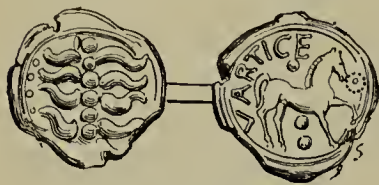
It was in the territory of the Remi, in the neighborhood of Bibrax (Vieux-Laon), that he encountered the Belgae. For some time he hesitated to risk his eight legions (sixty thousand men) against nearly three hundred thousand Barbarians, renowned as the bravest in Gaul. In order to divide them, he secretly sent Divitiacus and the army of the Aedui with orders to devastate the country of the Bellovaci in rear of the confederates, whilst he himself took the precautions necessary in such remote countries. He constructed at Berry-au-Bac a fortified bridge, where he stationed six cohorts, under



the command of Titurius Sabinus, to protect his convoys and, in case of need, his retreat; then with his legions he took up a strong position on the right bank of the Aisne. Thence he could without danger study the Barbarians' method of fighting, and familiarize his troops with their aspect. This caution encouraged the Barbarians. They tried to carry Bibrax, which was held by Iccius, a chief of the Remi. A re-enforcement sent by Caesar at the right moment obliged them to retire after a furious attack. As the Romans refused to cross the marshy land, the Belgae decided to turn the position by crossing the Aisne lower down. Caesar, warned by his scouts, despatched against them his cavalry, who drove them into the bed of the river, and inflicted great slaughter upon them. This double check caused great disorder in their army. The news of the attack of Divitiacus completed the discomfiture. The Bellovaci, to the number of sixty thousand, hastened to protect their homes, the other tribes followed the fatal example; and Caesar had only to send his cavalry in pursuit, and the retreat was changed into a disorderly flight. For a whole day the Romans slaughtered without any resistance (57 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

THE SUESSIO, DIVITIACUS.<sup>1</sup>

The coalition being dissolved, it only remained to subdue the tribes in detail,—an easier task, but one requiring more time. Caesar threw all his activity into it. On the following day he marched against the Suessiones, and took their capital, Noviodunum (Soissons). Their king, Galba, saved by the entreaties of the Remi,

COIN OF THE NERVII.<sup>3</sup>

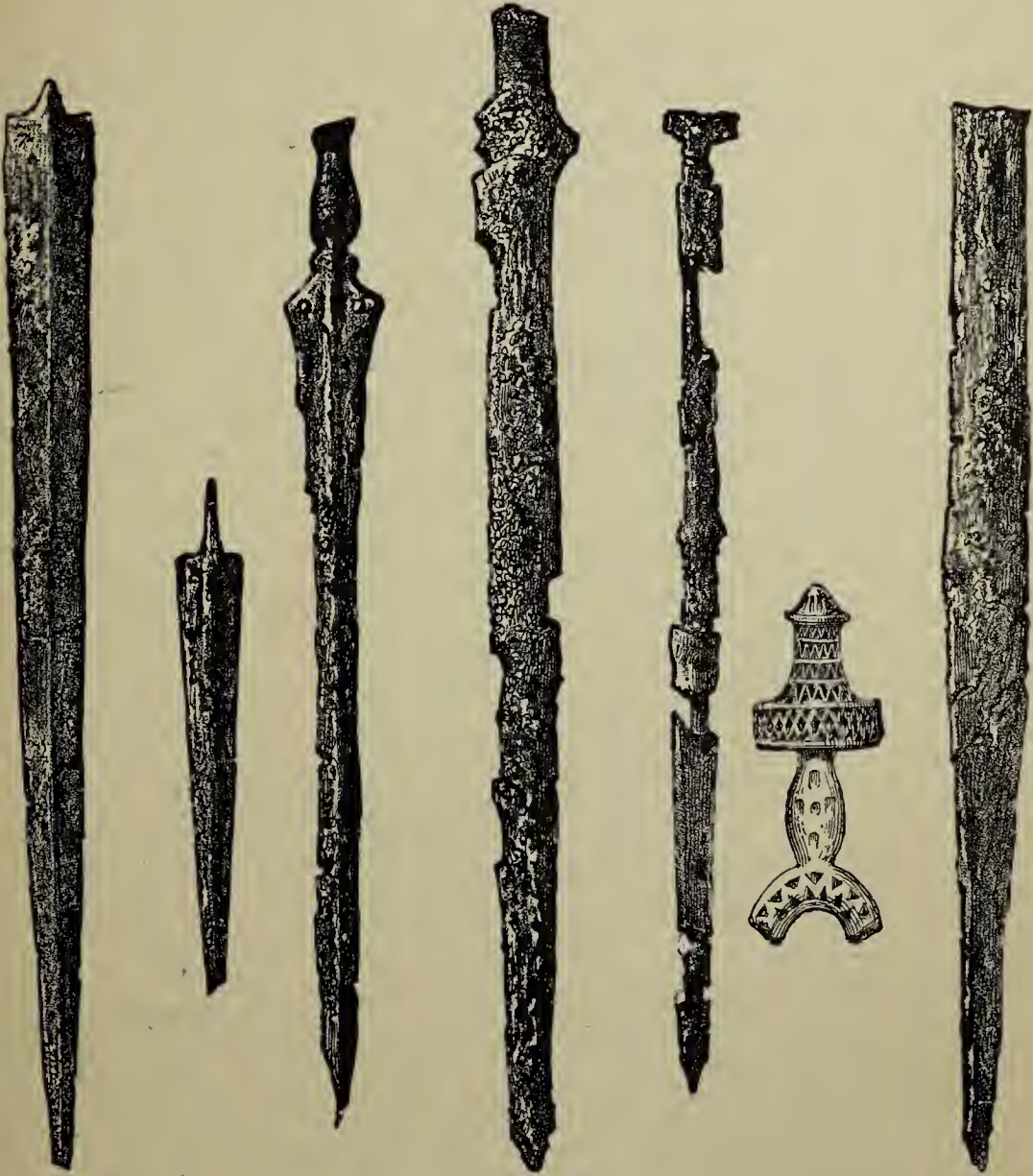
gave his sons as hostages. Thence the proconsul passed into the territory of the Bellovaci (Beauvais). Terror preceded him. Besieging their strongest position, he found only women and old men: the chiefs had fled to the Island of Britain. His politic generosity granted the pardon of the Bellovaci to the prayers of the

<sup>1</sup> Divitiacus, or Divitiac, King of the Suessiones, the predecessor of Galba (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 25).

<sup>2</sup> *Sine ullo periculo . . . interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* ii. 11). The map given on p. 293 is taken from the "Histoire de César" by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> A horse with the name of a Nervian VARTICE, who helped to save Cicero when he was besieged in his camp. On the reverse a branch with leaves in pairs. (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 35.)

Aeduan Divitiacus, as he had yielded that of the Suessiones to the solicitations of the Remi. The Ambiani (Amiens) hastened to give hostages.



IRON SWORDS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).<sup>1</sup>

Half Belgica was subdued: the Marne, the Aisne, and the Somme had been crossed, and as yet the Roman army had encountered no serious dangers. But they were now about to begin. Caesar wished to penetrate into the wild country of the Nervii (Hainault). Immense marshes, forests through which the legions

<sup>1</sup> Swords, and remains of swords, of iron from various tumuli (Museum of Saint Germain).



could advance only by opening a way with the axe, and hedges formed of young trees, their branches bent in a horizontal direction and interwoven with briars and thorns, protected the territories of this nation, who rejected the name of Gauls, and boasted of their German origin. They had no towns, drove away merchants, and denied themselves the use of wine and of every enervating luxury. In conjunction with the Atrebates (Arras) and the Viromandui (inhabitants of Vermandois, Saint-Quentin), they awaited the Romans beyond the Sambre (in the neighborhood of Maubeuge).<sup>1</sup> In marching-order each legion was followed by its baggage, and the whole army formed a long column. Apprised of this by Gallic deserters, the Nervii prepared to surprise the legions one after another; and they waited, hidden in the wood, for the first to appear. But, on coming into the enemy's neighborhood, Caesar had altered his arrangements. Six legions marched together; and the two last, composed of fresh levies, kept guard over the baggage, gathered in one convoy. As soon as the army appeared, and had commenced the preparations for encampment, the Nervii dashed forward, and crossed the Sambre, which was everywhere fordable in that district. Their attack was so impetuous, that "the leaders had no time to assume their uniform, the soldiers to put on their helmets and take the covers off their shields. Each legionary, as he hastened up from his work, took his place near the first standard that he saw, lest, in seeking his own, he should lose time in the battle."

GERMAN AUXILIARY.<sup>2</sup>

up and turned the hill. On this side the scarcely marked-out camp

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> From the Column of Trajan.

was taken; the legions were separated from each other, and all the centurions of the twelfth legion slain, or severely wounded. The auxiliary light troops fled, even the Treveri, the bravest horsemen of Gaul, who set out for their own territory, spreading in all directions the report that the Romans were defeated and their baggage carried off. Caesar himself believed the battle to be lost: seizing a shield, he dashed forward, re-formed his line, and fought



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE SAMBRE.<sup>1</sup>

like a common soldier. His troops, encouraged by this example, drove the Nervian troops a few paces backwards. He availed himself of the space which this vigorous effort gave him to deploy his crowded cohorts, and by degrees bring the legions closer together that they might support one another. The battle was renewed with more order; discipline and tactics regained their advantage; the

<sup>1</sup> Belgian writers, with the exception of M. Renard (*Hist. polit. et milit. de la Belgique*) place this battle at the village of Prêle, two leagues from Charleroi. M. Renard agrees with Napoleon in putting it near Maubeuge.



rear-guard had time to hasten up; and Labienus, who was pursuing the Atrebates, sent his tenth legion to the proconsul's aid. There was great loss among the Nervii. "Of our six hundred senators," said their old men to Caesar, "only three remain; of sixty thousand fighting men, five hundred have escaped."<sup>1</sup>

Such valiant foes inspired their conqueror with respect.<sup>2</sup> "It is not to be wondered at," said he, "that men so intrepid should have dared to cross a broad river, climb its steep banks, and fight in the most unfavorable place. The greatness of their courage rendered the most difficult enterprise easy to them."

The battle of the Sambre was one of the occasions upon which Caesar fought for life: it laid Belgica at his feet. Only the Aduatuci still remained in arms. They were descended from the Cimbri, who, nearly half a century earlier, had invaded Gaul. Six thousand of these Barbarians, left on the banks of the Rhine in charge of the heavy baggage of the horde, had made a settlement there, occupying the region near the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, where other Germans had doubtless joined them. They had promised their assistance to the Nervii; but the news of the disaster made them draw back. Expecting soon to be attacked, they abandoned their villages, and took refuge, with all they possessed, in the strongest of their fastnesses. It was a mass of steep rocks crowned by a plateau, reached by a gently sloping path two hundred feet broad, which was, however, intersected by a trench and a double wall formed of enormous stones. If we believe this *oppidum* to have been situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, on the hill which now bears the citadel of Namur, it was also protected on two sides by those rivers.<sup>3</sup>

On the approach of the legions, the Aduatuci hastened bravely to meet them, and engaged in skirmishes, which did not stop Caesar's works. In a short time a counter-work, twelve feet high, fifteen

<sup>1</sup> These figures are much exaggerated; for the Nervii are soon afterwards found to have become formidable again.

<sup>2</sup> He did more than praise their courage: he provided for the needs of the women, the children, and the old men, who had taken refuge in the marshes; he left them the whole territory of their nation, and enjoined upon the neighboring tribes to protect the remnant of them against all violence.

<sup>3</sup> Such is the opinion of the Emperor Napoleon III. Two other sites have been proposed: Mount Falhèze, on the left bank of the Meuse, opposite Huy; and Saint Antoine, near Philippeville.

miles long, and furnished with redoubts, put a stop to sorties ; then the Romans formed an earthwork, made mantlets, and constructed, out of reach of arrow-shot, a tower, of which the upper story was to overtop the rampart. “ On seeing this, the besieged began to deride us from the battlements, asking us what we intended doing with such a heavy machine, and how men of our size and make could move it. But, when they saw it approaching their walls, they were terror-struck, and sent ambassadors to sue for peace. They were required to deliver up their arms, which they did, throwing such quantities of them into the trenches of the place, that they were piled up almost as high as the walls.” But they had still retained some : on the following night, hoping to surprise the Roman camp, they made an attack. Signal-fires gave the alarm ; from all sides the soldiers hastened toward the point attacked ;<sup>1</sup> four thousand Aduatuci fell at the foot of the intrenchment ; all the rest, to the number of fifty-three thousand, were sold on the following day to the slave-merchants who followed the army. These descendants of the Cimbri met the same fate as their forefathers.<sup>2</sup>

During these last fights the young Crassus, who had distinguished himself in the battle against Ariovistus, had been detached with one legion to scour the country between the Seine and the Loire. He had met with no resistance : all the tribes of that region, impressed by the fame of Caesar’s victories, and unprepared for war, had resigned themselves to recognize the sovereignty of Rome, and to give hostages. This expedition had therefore been a mere military parade.

After the second campaign (57 B.C.), Gaul appeared subdued, and several Germanic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine sent humble deputations to the victor. Caesar left seven legions, however, in winter-quarters in the valley of the Loire, to keep watch over the tribes who had lately seen the Roman arms, but had not felt them ; and the twelfth legion, with part of the cavalry under Galba, received orders to keep open a free passage between Celtica and Italy, across the Great Saint Bernard, by which Italian merchants already passed to and fro. Caesar himself proposed to employ the winter in

<sup>1</sup> *Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta (De Bell. Gall. ii. 33).*

<sup>2</sup> The same remark applies to the Nervii. The Aduatuci remained one of the important nations of Belgium.



regulating the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyria, and his third province, Narbonensis, where the Pyrenees have preserved a souvenir of him in the Vieux-César Spring at Cauterets.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. — THIRD CAMPAIGN: WAR IN AQUITANIA.

SCARCELY, however, had the proconsul crossed the Alps, when news was brought him that the mountaineers had risen against Galba, and a severe battle had been fought, in which the Romans were victorious. But the lieutenant, fearing to remain for the winter in such a dangerous neighborhood, had brought his legion down into the vicinity of the Roman province.

This matter being arranged without need of his presence, Caesar proceeded as far as Illyria; but here information reached him of new and more serious disturbances. Crassus, who had been left in command of one of the legions in Aquitania, being in need of corn, had solicited it from the tribes in the neighborhood of his camps: they had put his envoys, Roman knights, in irons, and had declared that they would only give them up when he, in turn, restored the hostages he had taken. This was a violation of the law of nations, which even these Barbarians recognized, and it explains to us the cruelty which the Roman afterward displayed. Those who had taken this bold step employed the winter in forming a vast confederation, which comprised almost all the nations of the coast, from the Loire to the Scheldt: they sought aid even from the island of the Britons. Caesar was ready for this war, for he had studied beforehand the country and the men with whom he was to fight. His instructions were issued immediately. All the Gallic vessels that could be found were to be seized, others built, rowers levied in Gallia Narbonensis, pilots engaged; then, while Decimus Junius Brutus, the adopted son of Postumius Albinus, assembled the fleet at the mouth of the Loire,

<sup>1</sup> Even if all the "Caesar's camps" in Gaul are not camps of Caesar, there is nothing to prevent the belief that the proconsul came to Cauterets, — a bathing-place of the Romans, very ancient, and highly renowned, — either in an interval between his campaigns, or at the end of 51 B.C., after the pacification of Gaul and Aquitania.





CAUTERETS (FROM THE BATHS OF CAESAR).

F. Schroder.

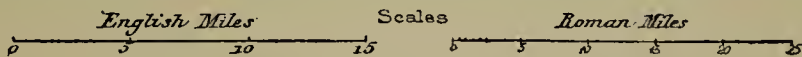




no doubt at Corbilo (Saint Nazaire), Crassus would overrun the country to the south of that river as far as the Garonne. Labienus with all the legionary cavalry, which was useless in a maritime war, would hold Belgica in obedience, and stop the Germans, who were said to be inclined to cross the Rhine. Finally, Titurius Sabinus, at the head of three legions, would chastise the tribes settled between the mouths of the Seine and the Rance. His flanks and rear being thus protected, Caesar himself would attack the Veneti, the most powerful nation in Western Gaul.



DENARIUS OF  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS.



MAP FOR THE WAR AGAINST THE VENETI.<sup>1</sup>

This war was of necessity a difficult one, owing to the nature of the country (intersected by deep bays and rocky peninsulas), and still more to the courage of the inhabitants, who defended foot by foot

<sup>1</sup> From Napoleon III., *Hist. de César*, vol. iii. pl. 15. The emperor places the encounter between the two fleets in the Bay of Quiberon, off Saint Gildas, in the direction of the mouth of the river Auray: M. E. Desjardins puts it amid the former islands of the Loire, which are now connected with the continent.



a territory bristling with fortresses which the flow of the tide rendered inaccessible to a land-attack, the ebb to vessels.

“Both these reasons, therefore, concurred,” says Caesar, “to secure their towns from assault; and if at any time, by the greatness of the works carried on against them, and huge artificial mounts that served to prevent the ingress of the sea and were raised to a height nearly equalling their walls, they saw themselves reduced to an extremity, then, by bringing up their ships, of which they had always a great number in readiness, they easily found means to carry off their effects and withdraw into the nearest towns, where they again defended themselves by the same advantages of situation as before. In this manner did they elude all Caesar’s attempts during a great part of the summer, and that with so much the more success, because our fleet was kept back by tempests, and found the navigation extremely dangerous in that vast and boundless ocean, where the tides are great, and the havens both few in number and at a considerable distance one from another.

“The ships of the Veneti were built and equipped in this manner: flatter than our own, they were better adapted to the shallows and low tides; built of oak, they could support the most violent shocks of that tempestuous ocean. Their prows were very high and erect, as likewise their sterns, to bear the hugeness of the billows. The beams, made of timber a foot thick, were secured with iron nails an inch in bigness. Instead of cables, they secured their anchors with iron chains; and they employed a sort of thin pliant leather by way of sails, either because they had not canvas, and were ignorant of the art of making sailcloth, or, which is more probable, because they regarded canvas sails as insufficient to support the rage and fury of the winds, and to govern ships of that bulk and burden. In agility and a ready command of oars, we had the advantage of them; but in other respects, regarding the situation of the coast and the assaults of storms, all things ran very much in their favor; for neither could our ships injure them with their beaks, so great was their strength and firmness, nor could we easily throw in our darts, because of their height above us, which was also the reason that we found it extremely difficult to grapple the enemy, and bring them to close fight. Add to this, that when the sea began to rage, and they were forced to submit to the pleasure of the winds, they

could both weather the storm better, and more securely trust themselves among the shallows, as fearing nothing from the rocks and cliffs on the recess of the tide."

When the Roman fleet appeared, the Veneti advanced to meet them with two hundred and twenty ships furnished by themselves or their allies. At first the Romans were perplexed, and suffered loss. But their military instinct led them to discover a new engine and a new line of tactics against the Veneti, as they had done against the Carthaginians at Mylae. They conceived the idea of fixing very sharp hooks on the ends of long poles, with which they were able to cut the ropes that fastened the yards to the masts. The yards falling, the vessel became unmanageable: two or three galleys then surrounded it, and the legionaries climbed up and boarded it. "The rest," says Caesar, "depended altogether on the valor of the troops, in which the Romans had greatly the advantage; and the rather, because they fought within view of Caesar and the whole army, so that not a single act of bravery could pass unobserved." The Gauls, having lost a great part of their ships in this manner, were about to seek safety in flight with what remained, when suddenly the wind fell, and not a vessel could move out of its place. They were taken one after another; very few of the enemy escaping to the land under cover of night. This engagement, which lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till sunset, is the first known to history as having taken place upon the Atlantic. The Veneti had lost the flower of their nation, and asked for peace: the terms were severe, — all their senate perished by the sword, the remainder of the population, or at least so many as were captured, were sold. This valiant nation deserved that the country they had so well defended should have retained their name.

Caesar made war according to his nature, which was kindly, but also according to ancient customs, which were cruel; so that we find him merciful to some, inexorable towards others. The Veneti, who, like the Aduatuci, had been attacked in defiance of all right, had avenged themselves by perfidy: their chastisement was similar. But these two brave nations perished for having defended their independence against an empire which they had never threatened, and whose name had scarcely reached them.

During these operations, Viridovix, King of the Unelli (Cotentin),



had stirred up the Aulerci-Eburovices (Évreux) and the Lexovii (district of Auge and Lieuvin), who, as a pledge of their good faith, massacred their senate, which belonged to the peace party, and in a short time he had assembled a numerous army against Sabinus. The legate had chosen the site of his camp with the usual ability of the Romans:<sup>1</sup> he there kept himself shut in, and affected fear. One day a deserter came, and told the Gauls that Caesar, hemmed in by the Veneti, had called Sabinus to his aid, and that on the following night the legions were to set forth. On this the Gauls

VIRIDOVIX.<sup>2</sup>

cried out that they must not let the Romans escape. Viridovix was forced to order the attack; and the whole army rushed towards the Roman camp, bearing fagots and brushwood with which to fill up the trench. The deserter was a Roman agent. Foreseeing this attack, Sabinus kept his legions behind the ramparts, armed and ready. They fell upon the assailants and at the first shock overthrew them. A great number perished: the cavalry slew the fugitives, and all the nations in that territory readily submitted to the legate; "for as the Gauls are very prompt and forward to undertake a war, so are they of a disposition that easily relents, and gives way to the strokes of adversity."

On the south, Crassus had received into the Roman alliance the Pictones and the Santones, who were jealous of the maritime superiority of the Veneti, and he had penetrated as far as the Garonne without meeting any obstacle, crossed that river, and taken the principal town of the Sotiates, Sos (to the north of Eauze). As he penetrated deeper into the country, Crassus found more formidable adversaries. Fifty thousand men, led by Spanish officers trained in the school of Sertorius, opposed him, not with the thoughtless impetuosity of barbarians, but with tactics wholly Roman:

COIN OF ADIETUANUS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The emperor places the camp of Sabinus at Petit-Celland, between the Sée and the road from Mortain to Avranches. But Caesar's text is too brief in geographical details to authorize any localization.

<sup>2</sup> Head with helmet, with the name of Viridovix shortened. On the reverse a lion; above, a star (De Saulcy, *Op. cit.* No. 32).

<sup>3</sup> Barbarian head: REX ADIETVANVS. On the reverse SOTIOTA and a she-wolf (De Saulcy, *Op. cit.* No. 33).

cavalry-scouting to discover the enemy's movements, a strongly fortified camp, and behind these intrenchments a large force, which refused to come out in order to oblige the Romans to attack them where they were, meanwhile despatching numerous parties to harass the march of the twelve cohorts of Crassus, and cut off his convoys. Crassus hoped to compel them to fight in the open country; but, being unsuccessful in his attempts, he directed against their camp an attack which would have failed had not four of his cohorts, making a long circuit, in order to come upon the ill-fortified rear of the position, forced their way into the camp. The enemy fled, but, being pursued by the cavalry, were destroyed without mercy; so that, of fifty thousand men, scarcely a fourth part escaped.

By these carefully combined operations, almost the whole of Aquitania had been brought into subjection, and in Belgica no outbreak had occurred. Only the Morini (Pas de Calais) and the Menapii (mouths of the Scheldt and Rhine) had not sent deputies to the proconsul. Caesar went in search of them into the depths of their forests and marshes, but without being able to reach them: he ravaged the country, burned the dwellings, and then returned into winter-quarters between the Seine and the Loire. From the Pyrenees to the North Sea, Gaul had that year been scourged by the victorious legions.

During these three campaigns, Caesar had effected another conquest, that of his army, who, seeing him unsparing of himself on the march and in fight, had become devoted to a leader who was always fortunate, and whose rule was at once firm and kind. Severe in his discipline, very exacting in respect to drill and military works of all kinds, he demanded nothing useless, and shut his eyes to small faults. But traits of bravery never escaped him: they were forthwith rewarded by public praise, rich armor, and gold. He loved magnificence in his soldiers' arms, and in their dress, and he encouraged their pleasures. "What does it matter if they perfume themselves," said he, "provided they fight well?"<sup>1</sup>

At their head, beside experienced veterans, he placed many young nobles, who were desirous of serving so near Italy under a general who by every courier sent to Rome tidings of some victory,

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 67.



and whose tent — when in winter-quarters, or between two expeditions — resembled some sumptuous villa of the *via Latina* in the luxuriousness of its furniture<sup>1</sup> and its feasts. There they found the whole of Roman life, — the elegance of the host, who required the same in his guests; conversation, by turns witty and serious, now occupied with some literary question,<sup>2</sup> now called forth by letters that morning arrived from Rome, with verses of Catullus and the adventures of his Lesbia, the famous Clodia. This brilliant youth, to whom Caesar offered all that youth seeks, — fame and pleasure, — related, in their turn, to friends at home, beneath the shades of Tibur, the marvellous marches, the expeditions into unknown countries, the victories by land and sea which put an end to the greatest terror of the Republic.

Cicero was the resounding echo of these Gallic wonders. Against the hatred of Clodius, and Pompey's coldness, and the indifference of the nobles, he had felt the need of relying upon Caesar, and he had hastened to do so with the ardor "of the traveller, who, having risen too late, must redouble his speed in order to arrive before the rest."<sup>3</sup> "What marvellous events!" cried he. "It has been the opinion of the wise, since the beginning of our empire, that the Gauls were our most terrible enemies. Instead of challenging them, our generals thought they did enough for our glory in repulsing their attacks. This formidable war Caesar has carried into the heart of Gaul; these nations, whose names had never reached us, he has reduced to submission. We had only a footpath in Gaul: now the boundaries of these tribes are the frontiers of our dominion. It was not without some favor of the gods, that nature had given Italy the Alps for a rampart. These mountains may now sink: from the Alps to the ocean, there is no longer aught for Italy to dread."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . *In expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse* (Suet., *Jul. Caes.* 46). He always had two tables, — one for his officers, the other for Roman magistrates and distinguished provincials (*Id.*, *Ibid.* 48).

<sup>2</sup> In Gaul, Caesar composed his "Commentaries," which we still possess, and a treatise on the Latin language, which is lost. [He is said to have first used the term "ablative case" in grammar.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Quintum*, ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *De provinciis consularibus*, 13 and 14.

V. — FOURTH CAMPAIGN: EXPEDITIONS INTO GERMANY AND  
BRITAIN (55 B.C.).

ALL was not yet so entirely ended as Cicero thought. “The following winter, the Usipetes and Tencteri, German nations, crossed the Rhine in a great body, not far from its mouth. The cause of their taking this step was, that, being much exposed to the hostilities of the Suevi, they had for many years been harassed with continual wars, and hindered from cultivating their lands.

“The Suevi are by far the most warlike and considerable of all the German nations. They are said to be composed of a hundred cantons, each of which sends yearly into the field a thousand armed men. The rest, who continue in their several districts, employ themselves in cultivating their lands, that they may furnish a sufficient supply both for themselves and for the army. These again take up arms the following campaign, and are succeeded in the care of the lands by the troops that served the year before. Thus they live in the continual exercise both of agriculture and war. They allow of no such thing as property or private possession in the distribution of their lands; their residence, for the sake of tillage, being confined to a single year. Corn is not much in use among them, because they prefer a milk or flesh diet, and are greatly addicted to hunting. Thus the quality of their food, their perpetual exercise, and free, unconfined manner of life (because, being from their childhood fettered by no rules of duty or education, they acknowledge no law but will and pleasure), contribute to make them strong and of an extraordinary stature. They have likewise accustomed themselves, though inhabiting a climate naturally very cold, to bathe in their rivers, and to clothe themselves only with skins. Merchants, indeed, resort to them, but rather to purchase their spoils taken in war than to import any goods into the country; for even beasts of carriage, in which the Gauls take so much delight that they are ready to purchase them at any price, are yet very little valued by the Germans when brought among them; and,



though those of their own country are both small and very ill-shaped, yet by daily exercise they make them capable of all kinds of service. Their cavalry often dismount in time of action, to fight on foot; and their horses are so trained, that they stir not from the place where they are left, but await the return of their riders, who betake themselves to them again in case of necessity. Nothing is more dishonorable in their account, or more opposite to their customs, than the use of horse-furniture; and therefore, however few themselves, they scruple not to attack any number of their enemies whom they see so equipped.

“On the west they are bounded by the Ubii, heretofore a flourishing and potent people, and somewhat more civilized than the other German nations; because, inhabiting along the banks of the Rhine, they are much resorted to by merchants, and have, besides, by bordering on the States of Gaul, given in to many of their customs. The Suevi, having tried the strength of this people in many wars, and finding them too numerous and potent to be driven out of their territories, prevailed yet so far as to impose a tribute on them, and very much reduce and weaken their power.

“The Usipetes and Tencteri were likewise engaged in this quarrel, and, after withstanding the power of the Suevi for many years, were nevertheless at length driven from their territory. Having wandered over many regions of Germany during the space of three years, they arrived at last on the banks of the Rhine, towards those parts inhabited by the Menapii, who had houses, lands, and villages on both sides the river. But, alarmed at the approach of so prodigious a multitude, they abandoned all their habitations beyond the Rhine, and, having disposed their troops on this side the river, set themselves to oppose the passage of the Germans. These, having tried every expedient, and finding they could neither force the passage, because of their want of shipping, nor steal over privately, by reason of the guards kept by the Menapii, counterfeited a retreat into their own country, and after three days’ march suddenly turned back; when their cavalry, recovering all this ground in the space of one night, easily overpowered the Menapii, little expecting or prepared for such a visit, for, having been apprised by their scouts of the departure of the Germans, they had returned, fearless of danger, to their habitations beyond the Rhine. These

being all put to the sword, and their shipping seized before the Menapii on this side had intelligence of their approach, they crossed the river, and, seizing all their towns and houses, supported themselves the rest of the winter with the provisions there found."

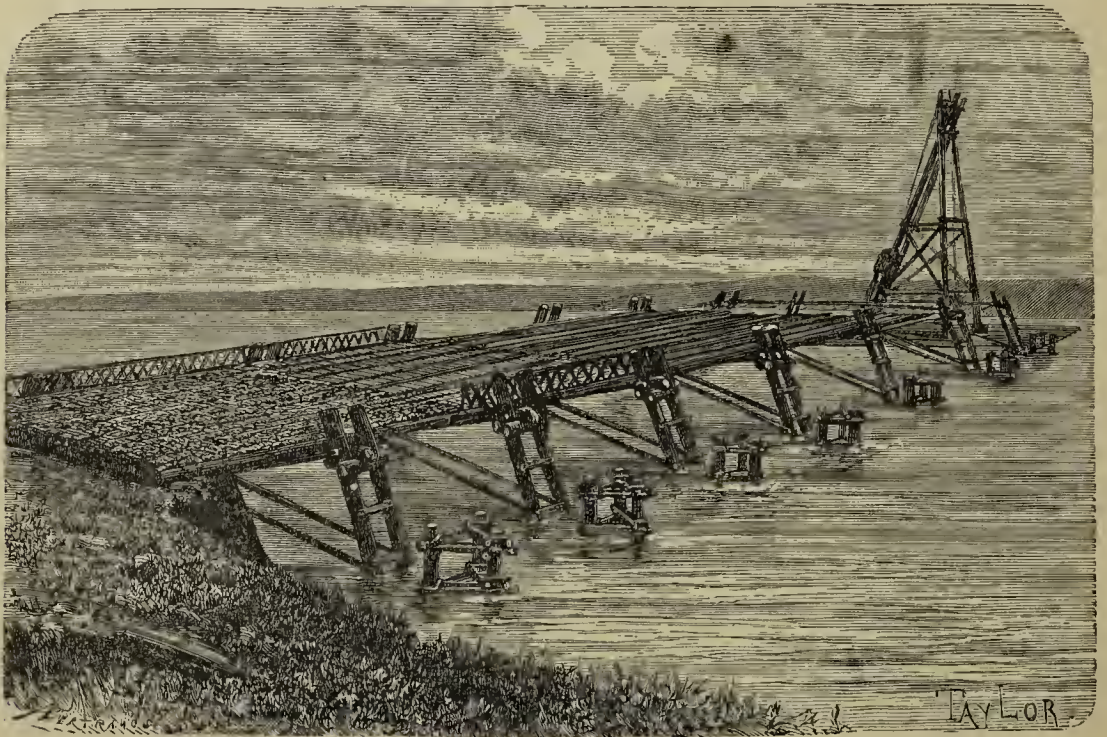
At the report of this invasion, which recalled that of the Helvetii, Caesar hastily recrossed the Alps, in spite of the severity of the season, and called together the principal men of Gaul, some of whom were in communication with the enemy. He won them over, and obtained some cavalry from them; then he marched towards the Rhine with all his forces. The Germans sent deputies to him, who renewed the demands of the Teutones to Marius: "Give us lands, and we will give you our friendship." Caesar, who from the very first had assumed the attitude of the protector of Gaul against German invasions, could not accept these conditions. He granted them a truce of three days; but on the very next day they broke it by surprising the Gallic horse, who lost seventy-four men. In this fight there perished an Aquitanian, whose grandfather had been the chief of his nation, and to whom the Senate had decreed the title of "Friend of the Roman People." Caesar forthwith advanced in order of battle. The intimidated Barbarians sent him their chiefs and old men to justify the attack of the previous day. The proconsul, thinking himself authorized by the recent treachery, had their envoys arrested, and then made his attack. The horde, penned in upon the tongue of land at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, perished almost to a man. According to Caesar, who, like Sylla, often exaggerates the number of his enemies, and diminishes that of his own losses, they amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand fighting men, besides women and children. Cato made a proposition to give up the perjured general to the Germans; but the Senate voted fresh thanksgivings to the gods.

The chiefs arrested before the battle were released. But whither were they to go? Their nation no longer existed; and the Gauls would have nothing but contempt for the vanquished. They asked to remain in the Roman camp.

Caesar, however, dreaded the unforeseen aid which was wont to reach the Gauls from neighboring countries. In the preceding year, the Veneti had received soldiers and ships from Britain; and now the invasion of the Usipetes had re-awakened the hopes of all the



lately conquered nations. He saw, that, in order to avoid being disturbed in his conquest, he must isolate Gaul from Britain and Germany, break off the relations between the island and the continent, and carry the terror of the Roman name on to the right bank of the Rhine. In ten days, with that wonderful activity which but one other general ever equalled, — Bonaparte, —



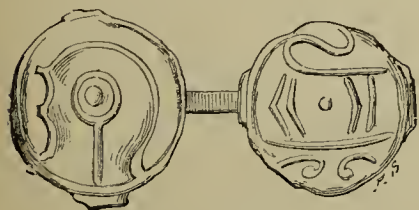
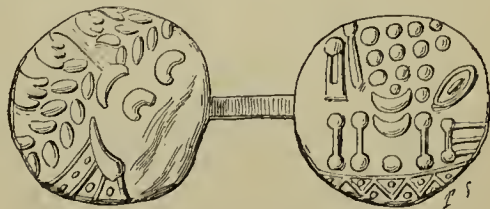
BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

he built a bridge upon piles across the Rhine (near Bonn?);<sup>1</sup> then he crossed the river, and terrified the neighboring tribes, without, however, engaging in any serious battles. The Suevi, at the mere

<sup>1</sup> Caesar has left us a description of it: "Two beams, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened a little towards the lower end, and of a length proportionate to the depth of the river, were bound together with cross-beams at intervals of two feet from each other. These were fixed in the bed of the river by means of machines, and then made secure by blows of a rammer; so that they stood, not perpendicularly, but inclined, according to the direction of the stream. Opposite these, and forty feet lower down the river, another couple of piles were driven, arranged in the same manner, but sloping against the current of the river. In the interval left between the two beams of each couple, a great beam two feet square was lodged, and the two couples were bound together by two wooden ties, so arranged that the violence of the current only served to bind the work firmer together. This being repeated all across the river, planks were laid upon them, which, for greater convenience, were covered with hurdles. Down stream from the bridge, piles were driven against each row, to serve as buttresses; and others were driven a little above the bridge, that, in case trunks of trees or vessels should be sent down by the enemy to destroy the work, the shock might thus be broken, and the bridge secured from damage." (*De Bell. Gall.* iv. 15.)

report of his enterprise, had plunged into their forests. After eighteen days passed in Germany, as the season was advancing, and he was desirous of making a descent upon Britain in that same year, he withdrew his legions across the Rhine, broke down the bridge, and reached the country of the Morini, upon the straits (Boulonais).

This expedition had not added one foot of land to the dominion of the Republic; but Caesar had carried it out less for Rome than for Gaul. His end was gained, for he had led his Gallic auxiliaries to forage, in their turn, in the country of the Suevi. And then, even on the banks of the Tiber, what acclamations at the news that the mysterious and dreaded river had borne a Roman bridge, and seen the standards of the legions pass over it!

TIN COIN OF THE BRITONS.<sup>1</sup>

SILVER COIN OF THE BRITONS.

Caesar proposed to give the Romans another subject for astonishment and pride by a campaign carried "to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Britain, inhabited by the same nations as Gaul, kept up frequent relations with the latter. There was the sanctuary of the Druids, — the Island of Mona, — whither pious pilgrimages brought from the continent those who desired to attain the highest degrees in knowledge and religious initiation.

Friendly relations with these tribes would have afforded security for the Roman sway in Gaul. Accordingly, Caesar had long sought to open negotiations with the Britons, who had seemed inclined to enter into them, and had sent proposals of peace to him in Gaul. But as the King of the Atrebates, whom he had commissioned to go to the island to settle the conditions, had been put in irons, it was important for Caesar to avenge the insult, which would have weakened his authority among the Gallic tribes, had it remained unpunished;

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, what is meant for a head; on the reverse, what is meant for a horse.



and the new campaign was decided upon.<sup>1</sup> He sent Volusenus, one of his officers, in a galley, to reconnoitre the British coast. That officer either dared not or could not effect a landing, and returned at the end of five days. Upon the information he brought, Caesar set forth on the night of the 24th of August with two legions, embarked on eighty transport-vessels and a few galleys which he had assembled at Wissant, or in the Liane.<sup>2</sup> They had but little baggage: he himself took with him only three servants. The following morning they were in sight of the cliffs of Dover, the summits of which were lined with Britons, who had been warned by their Gallic friends. It was impossible to land at this spot, commanded as it was by the heights that the enemy occupied. He lay at anchor till the turn of the tide, and then went northward with it, till, at the end of the cliffs, he came upon the beach of Deal. The Britons, who from the coast followed every movement of the fleet, had already hastened thither. Accordingly, notwithstanding the protection afforded by the machines which from the higher parts of the vessels sent forth a shower of arrows, the work of landing was difficult. The standard-bearer of the fourth legion leaped into the sea to encourage his comrades. The example was imitated by the legionaries embarked in the nearest ships, and a struggle took place amid the waves. When the legionaries had attained dry land, a furious charge dispersed the Barbarians.

Caesar relates that one of his soldiers, Caesius Scaeva, with four other legionaries, had from their boat reached a rock on a level with the water, and surrounded by the sea; and thence they shot arrows at the enemy, every one of which found its mark. When the ebb rendered the space between this rock and the land fordable, the Barbarians rushed upon them in a crowd. The four legionaries took refuge in their boat; but Scaeva refused to leave the rock. He killed several of the enemy, and continued bravely fighting till his thigh was pierced by an arrow, his face bruised by a stone, and

<sup>1</sup> Britain was not as barbarous as Caesar represents it. The southern tribes, who seemed to have been of Belgic origin, were sufficiently civilized to have high-roads, and to coin money, a hundred and fifty years before Christ (Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 31). A very active commerce existed between Britain and Gaul, as Caesar himself bears witness.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne), at the mouth of the Liane, was the port of the Romans for Britain under the emperors, and it was probably Caesar's too; but there are also reasons for placing the *Itius Portus* at Wissant. The Emperor Napoleon III. was in favor of Boulogne: M. de Sauley still holds to Wissant.

his shield broken. Upon this he threw himself into the sea, and swam back to his vessel. Being congratulated upon his courage, his sole pre-occupation was the thought of having lost his shield; and he excused himself to his general for the loss. Caesar made him a centurion on the spot.

The boldness of the Britons was subdued. They asked to enter into negotiations, gave hostages, and hastened in crowds to the camp, curious to examine the war-machines and arms which had caused them such terror.

It was then the time of the full moon, — the period of the highest tides in the ocean. A violent tempest occurring at the same time dispersed the squadron which was bringing Caesar his cavalry, and destroyed his freight-ships, which lay at anchor, dashing them in pieces against the rocks on the coast. This disaster restored courage to the islanders. They assailed a legion as it was foraging, and soon the camp itself; but they were roughly received, and a sortie dispersed them. Caesar took advantage of their disheartened state to assume the tone of a master, required double the number of hostages he had at first demanded, and hastily regained the continent in his half-repaired ships.<sup>1</sup> “They disappeared,” says an ancient chronicler, “as the snow on the seashore disappears at the touch of the south wind.”

## VI. — FIFTH AND SIXTH CAMPAIGNS: SECOND DESCENT UPON BRITAIN: REVOLT OF NORTHERN GAUL (54–53).

THIS retreat was too much like a flight for Caesar (who had just had his command prolonged for five years) not to be eager to repeat the expedition. Preparations for returning into Britain were therefore vigorously pushed on in Gaul during the winter. He had left precise orders for the building of ships upon a new model, — somewhat lower than was usual in the Mediterranean, — for the convenience

<sup>1</sup> Three hundred soldiers, who could not reach the *Itius Portus* with the remainder of the army, landed lower down, and regained the camp by land, though they were attacked by six thousand Morini. Drawn up in square, they repulsed all attacks for four hours, till the cavalry which had been sent to meet them came to the rescue.



of embarking and landing his men; also broader than usual, on account of the baggage and horses they would have to carry. All that was necessary for the naval armament came from Spain. While the soldiers were carrying on these labors, he himself held his assizes in Gallia Cisalpina, and went into the heart of Illyria to quiet the disturbances which threatened to bring on a war in that quarter. In the spring he returned to the shores of the Channel, to review the army,<sup>1</sup> and inspect the magazines and the fleet: the latter was composed of six hundred transports and twenty-eight galleys, with a number of light barks, making in all eight hundred sail. All was ready for embarkation; but disquieting movements took place among the Treviri, who had not sent their deputies to the assembly of the Gauls. A patriot named Indutiomarus, who disputed the power with Cingetorix the partisan of the Romans, was the moving spirit of the projected insurrection.<sup>2</sup> Caesar hastened to this tribe by forced marches, taking with him four legions without baggage; and Indutiomarus, intimidated, came forth from the impenetrable retreats of the forest of Ardennes, where he had at first taken refuge, and delivered to the proconsul two hundred hostages, among whom were his son and his nearest relatives.

This affair ended, Caesar returned to Itius Portus, where were assembled his eight legions and four thousand Spanish and Gallic horse: he selected five legions and two thousand horse to accompany him to Britain, and left the remainder with Labienus, who was to guard the port, supply provisions, and keep watch over Gaul. Among the Gauls whom he wished to take with him was Dumnorix, a restless and ambitious man, who had played a part in the migration of the Helvetii, and had only then been spared at the entreaties of his brother Divitiacus. He refused to set forth, sometimes urging the pretext that he was unable to bear the passage, and at other times his religion forbade him to cross the sea; but in secret meetings he told the chiefs that they were being led to the island in order to be put to death there. Amid the confusion of embarking, he escaped

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo (ii. 160), the principal arsenal was at the mouth of the Seine; and as at the time of the Boulogne expedition, under Napoleon I., pinnaces (*péniches*) were built by the dwellers on the banks of the river.

<sup>2</sup> The very Gallic names of these two chiefs prove that the Treviri were not Germans, or that the Gallic element was predominant among them.

from the camp with the Aeduan cavalry. Caesar had been watching him, and immediately suspended the embarkation. Fearing lest this flight should be the signal for a general revolt, he sent all his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Dumnorix attempted to resist: he cried, "I am free, and a citizen of a free State!" but, by Caesar's orders, he was surrounded and cut down.

The army landed in Britain, on the spot which he had before marked out as most convenient, and, establishing his camp by the shore, Caesar marched twelve miles inland in search of the enemy. He encountered them in a difficult position, — behind a small river, and under the shelter of a deep forest, the entrances to which were protected by an abattis formed of great trunks of trees. The soldiers made a *testudo*, and easily carried these rude ramparts: Caesar did not deem it prudent, however, to pursue the Britons into the depths of the woods. The success of this first affair promised a speedy issue to the expedition, when a party of cavalry sent from the camp announced to the proconsul that a part of his fleet had again been destroyed by a storm. He retraced his steps, sent to Labienus for workmen and fresh ships; then, with his fleet repaired, and hauled up high and dry in his camp, he returned in search of the Barbarians. Thanks to this delay of ten days, their numbers had vastly increased. Cassivellaunus, one of their powerful chiefs, was in command. Their manner of fighting — in scattered groups and in swift chariots, whence they sprang down to despatch a wounded enemy — at first fatigued the legions; but they soon grew accustomed to this form of attack, and sought to bring about a general action, which the Britons refused. In hope of bringing them to an engagement, Caesar marched towards the Thames, on which the territories of Cassivellaunus were situated. That chief attempted to dispute the passage of the river, and drew up his troops in good order on the opposite bank. But the Roman infantry forced their way across, probably near Windsor, where the Thames is only a narrow river; and Cassivellaunus again resumed the war of surprises and rapid incursions, which threatened to famish the legions, or destroy them in detail.

Fortunately, these Barbarians, who were often at war with one another, had not banded together in the presence of a common



enemy, and in the Roman camp there were traitors to the national cause. A young chieftain of the tribe of the Trinobantes had come to Gaul to entreat Caesar to avenge him on Cassivellaunus, who had slain his father. He had served as guide to the army, had pointed out the fords over the river, and the spot where, in the midst of woods and marshes (near Saint Albans), stood the *oppidum* which held the wealth of Cassivellaunus; thither Caesar led his



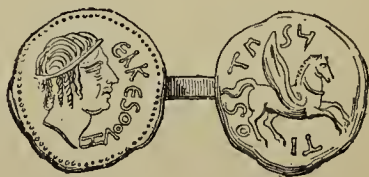
MAP FOR THE EXPEDITIONS INTO BRITAIN.

legions, who seized upon it. These repeated checks, a vain attempt of the confederates upon the camp which held the Roman fleet, and the defection of several tribes, decided Cassivellaunus to enter into negotiations. The Britons gave hostages, and promised an annual tribute; and the proconsul, who wanted nothing more, returned to the continent.

He can only have brought back a meagre amount of spoil from the island;<sup>1</sup> but he had pointed out the road which others were to follow. His sword had opened to the action or influence of Rome three great countries, — France, England, and Germany; and it was his pen which gave the first description of them.

In his first campaign, Caesar had forced back the Helvetii upon the country which they desired to leave, and had driven the Suevi beyond the Rhine, that is to say, he had subdued the east of Gaul; in the second, the north had been conquered; in the third, the west; in the fourth, he had shown the Gauls, by his two expeditions into Britain and Germany, that they could expect nothing from their neighbors; and, in the fifth, he had just renewed the lesson by bearing his victorious eagles into Britain again. The Gallic war was therefore looked upon as over; but it had scarcely begun.

Hitherto a few tribes had fought separately; but all now knew that the pretexts which the Romans had employed to establish themselves in the heart of their country concealed a design for enslaving it. Carrying across the Alps the policy followed by the Senate in all their conquests, the chief of the popular party at Rome had overthrown the democratic forms of government throughout the whole of Gaul, wherever he had been able to do

COIN OF TASGET.<sup>2</sup>COIN OF CAVARIN.<sup>3</sup>

so. Threatened by their own lower classes, the Gallic aristocracy had sought support from Caesar, who bestowed upon the most influential among them the Roman citizenship and his own name,<sup>4</sup> rank in the auxiliary troops, and favor in the distribution of booty. He showed them great deference, and flattering attentions of every kind; he invited them to his table and his festivals;<sup>5</sup> he favored the elevation of the more ambitious, who afterwards delivered into his

<sup>1</sup> Pliny mentions, however, a cuirass ornamented with pearls, which he consecrated to Venus.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Apollo with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, TASGITIOS; a flying Pegasus (De Saulcy, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 16).

<sup>3</sup> Horse galloping. On the reverse, a branch. (De Saulcy, *Ibid.* No. 36.)

<sup>4</sup> Hence the great number of Julian families in Gaul.

<sup>5</sup> Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 48.



hands the independence of their cities, as did Tasgetius among the Carnutes, Commius among the Atrebates, Cavarinus among the Senones, and Cingetorix among the Treviri. Dumnorix the Aeduan had also boasted that Caesar had promised to make him a king, and for six years the aristocracy of the Arverni restrained their people from taking part in the war of independence. Wherever a popular form of government existed, Caesar had formed a Roman party who overruled the assembly and the Senate, impeded their action, and betrayed their plans.

Another means of influence which he had cleverly used was the holding of the States-General of Gaul, — an annual meeting of deputies from all the tribes.<sup>1</sup> There it was, that, by the charm of his manners and the influence of his military fame, he won over the men who appeared to be freely deliberating with him about the interests of the country, but who in reality were only obeying his injunctions, and legalizing his demands for provisions, subsidies, and auxiliaries.

It was not so with the multitude: each defeat augmented the number of patriots, because each victory of Caesar increased the insolence and exactions of the Roman agents. For the latter, Gaul was a virgin soil upon which they swooped down like birds of prey; and the general himself set the example.<sup>2</sup> Caesar soon saw, however, the hatred which was slowly gathering in the depths of men's hearts. We have seen how, on his last expedition to Britain, he had taken with him those whom he mistrusted, and that Dumnorix, an Aeduan chief, refusing to follow him, had been slain. This man was one of the rulers of the tribe which had opened Gaul to the legions, and brother to Divitiacus, Caesar's friend. His death showed any who might still be in doubt about it, that the proconsul would crush all who refused to further his designs.

As Caesar returned from Britain victorious, Gaul remained tranquil. This deceptive calm and the apparent resignation of the Gallic deputies at the States-General, which he held at Samarobriua (Amiens), in the territory of the Ambiani, led him to think that

<sup>1</sup> The Galatae of Asia Minor had retained a similar council of three hundred *principes* in conjunction with the tetrarchs (Strabo, xii. 567).

<sup>2</sup> *Fana templaque deum donis donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit, saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 54).

the danger was still distant. To guard against the dearth of provisions, which had been rendered scarce by the great heat, he dispersed his eight legions over a space of more than a hundred leagues, — one among the Essuvii (Sééz), between the Carnutes (Chartres) and the Armoricans; four among the Treviri (Trèves), the Eburones (Liège), the Nervii (Hainault), and the Morini (Boulogne); and three in the centre, between the Oise and the Seine.

A vast conspiracy was preparing, however, — the rising of all the tribes upon whom the continual presence of the legions made the foreign rule press with its whole weight. A chief of the Eburones, named Ambiorix, and Indutiomarus of the Treviri, were the soul of this movement. They were to take up arms as soon as Caesar was on the way to Italy, drive out his partisans, — for every city had its Roman party, — call in the Germans, attack the legions in their quarters, and rigorously sever communications between them. The secret was well kept; but the insurrection broke out too soon among the Carnutes. They overthrew Tasgetius, whom the Roman had imposed upon them as king, and after a public sentence put him to death. This revealed the danger to Caesar: he remained in Gaul. Ambiorix, who thought he was already beyond the Alps, led his whole tribe to attack the camp of Sabinus and Cotta at Aduatua (Tongres); but he was repulsed. Wily as an Indian chief, he stopped the fight, asked for a conference, and feigned the most friendly sentiments towards the Romans. “I owe Caesar gratitude,” said he: “he freed my nation from the tribute which we paid to the Aduatuci; he restored to me my son and my brother’s son, who were kept in chains at Aduatua as hostages. It is therefore against my wish that we fight. But this very day there breaks out a long premeditated and general plot.” Then he pointed out to Sabinus that the whole of Gaul was in arms, that the Germans were engaged in crossing the Rhine, and that his only means of safety lay in a prompt retreat upon the camp of Q. Cicero, in the country of the Nervii.

Sabinus had a legion of newly raised recruits, and doubtless he had little confidence in them. He allowed himself to be persuaded, and, in spite of Cotta, issued from his intrenchments. The Eburones, in ambush, attacked him upon all sides, and threw his troops into the greatest confusion. A portion of the legion

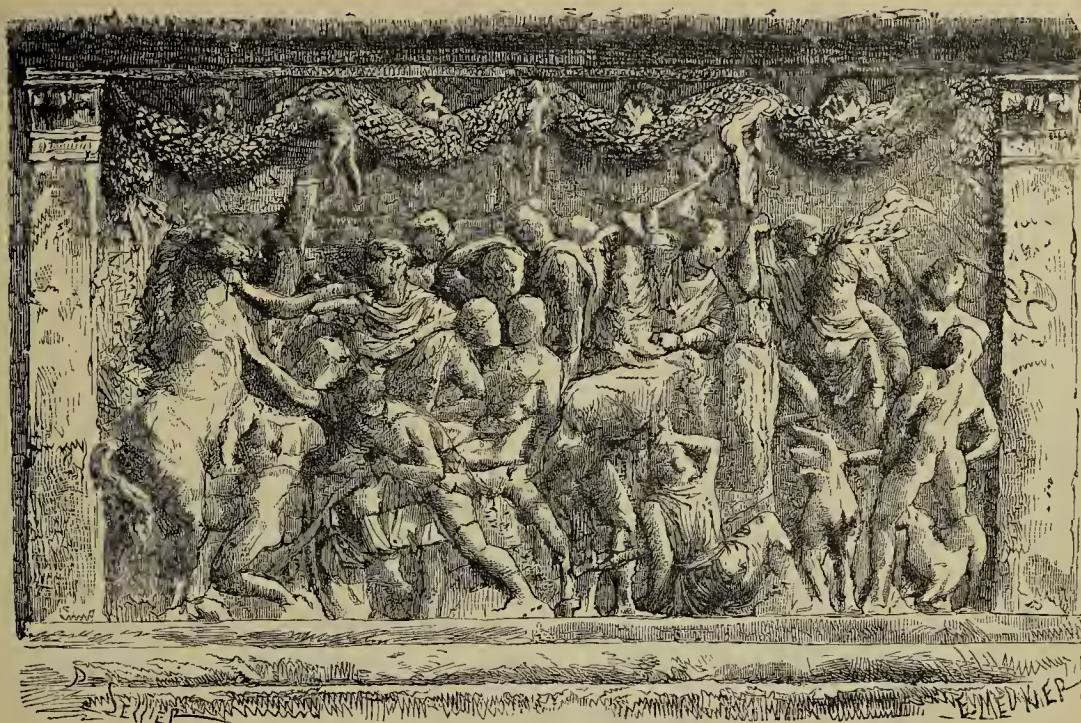


was already destroyed when Sabinus sent to demand a new conference with the Gallic leader, who granted it. The lieutenant, tribunes, and centurions came thither with their arms. He ordered them to lay them down, and they obeyed. The conditions of the treaty were discussed; but Ambiorix prolonged the conversation for some time: when he saw that his Gauls had surrounded the troop of Sabinus, he gave the signal, and the massacre began. The rest of the Roman army perished fighting, a few soldiers escaping with difficulty.

Caesar thought he had slain or sold every man among the Aduatuci and the Nervii. There were still enough of them to form, in conjunction with their former clients and the Eburones, an army of fifty thousand men. Ambiorix led them up to the intrenchments of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the great orator. They tried to draw him, like Sabinus, out of his camp: they told him that the whole of Gaul had risen; that Caesar and his lieutenants were besieged; that the Germans were already upon the left bank of the Rhine; and that the troops of Sabinus had been exterminated. It would be a dangerous illusion, they said, to expect succor from the other legions, who were themselves in a desperate situation. Moreover, they had no ill-will against Cicero: they only asked that he should quit the winter-quarters which the army had made a custom of occupying; and he should have every security in retiring by whatever road he chose. Cicero replied that it was not the custom of the Roman people to accept conditions from an enemy in arms, but that, if they consented to lay them down, he would serve them as a mediator with Caesar, who would decide. The reply was a proud one. His acts corresponded to his words; and whereas Sabinus had perished with all his men by yielding, Q. Cicero, by his firmness, saved Caesar, his legion, and himself.

It was necessary that his camp should be taken by force: the Nervii surrounded it with a rampart eleven feet high and a trench fifteen feet deep and fifteen thousand paces in circuit. To dig this they had neither instruments nor tools: they cut the turf with their swords, and carried the earth in their tunics. And Caesar asserts, unless there be some error in the text, that this immense work was executed in three hours. His engineering lessons had indeed been of great profit to the Gauls.





BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE JULII: EPISODES IN THE GALLIC WAR.<sup>1</sup>

On the seventh day, as a violent wind had arisen, they threw over the intrenchments red-hot balls of clay, and flaming javelins.

<sup>1</sup> In the full-page engraving facing p. 322, from which these bas-reliefs are copied, is represented a tomb of a Gaul whom Caesar had made a Roman citizen, and of his wife, erected by their three sons. The bas-reliefs represent battles in which this Gaul had probably taken part: unfortunately they are very much mutilated. The Museum of Saint Germain possesses casts



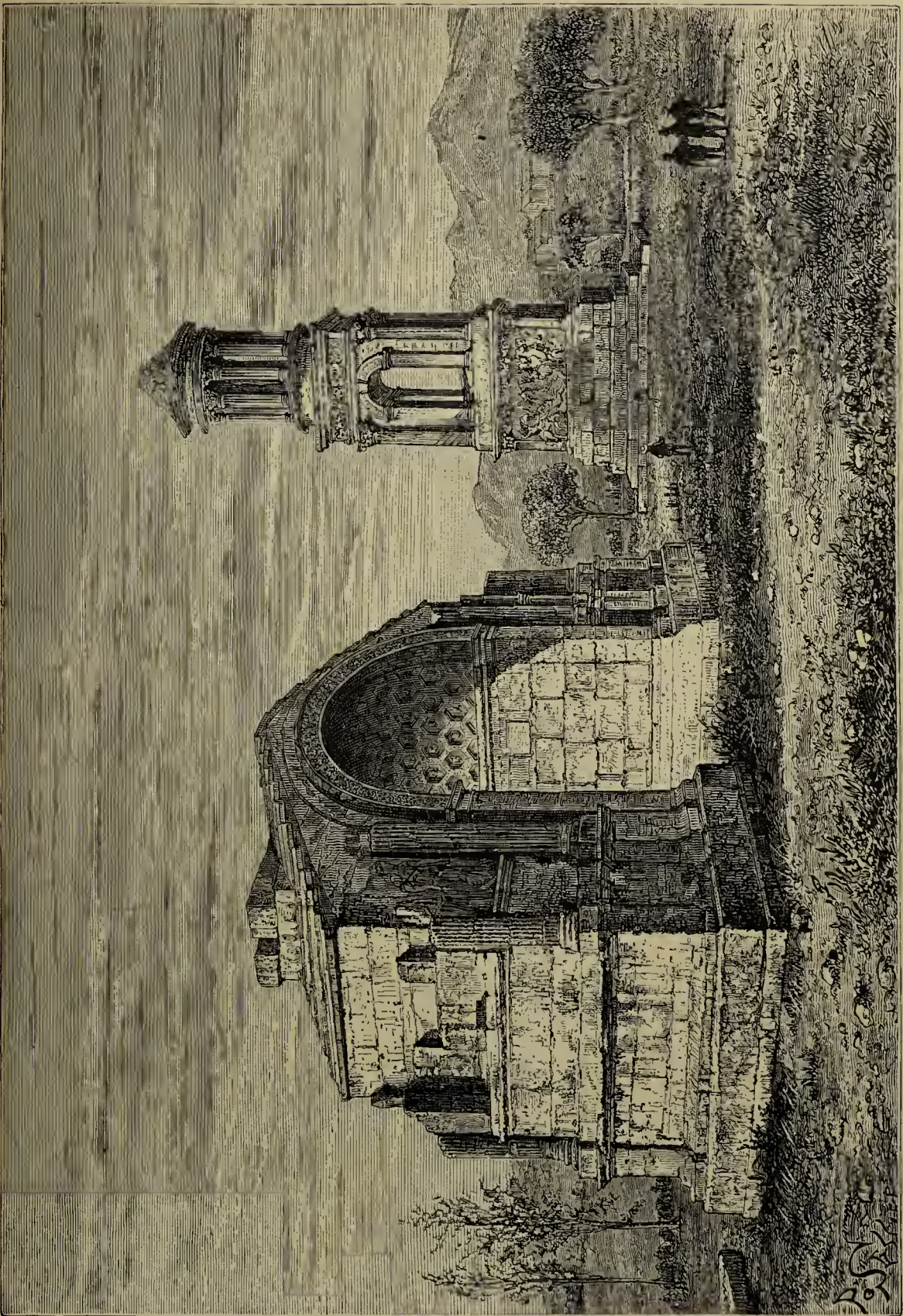


BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE JULII: EPISODES IN THE GALLIC WAR.

The huts of the soldiers, which were covered with straw, in the Gallic manner, were soon in flames. At the same time, the Nervii,

of them. The archaic orthography of the inscription cannot be later than the early years of the reign of Augustus. Saint Remi possesses another monument, called a triumphal arch, but which was no doubt only one of the town-gates of Glanum.





ARCH AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE JULII AT SAINT REMI (GLANUM).





with great shouts, rolled their towers to the foot of the rampart, and formed a *testudo* to attempt an escalade. But not a soldier had quitted the parapet to snatch any part of his baggage from the fire: the foe was stopped and driven back. At the same time, Indutiomarus, among the Treviri, overthrew his rival Cingetorix, raised the tribe in revolt, and threatened the camp of Labienus. The thirteenth legion, among the Essuvii, also saw that the Armorican cities were becoming restless; and, among the Senones, Acco drove out Cavarinus, the friend of the Romans. On the north and east of the Loire, the movement was general.

The Aedui and the Remi alone remained faithful, or, as the Gauls said, were the only traitors to the national cause.

In spite of his vigilance, Caesar knew nothing. One of his legions had been destroyed twelve days before; Q. Cicero had been besieged for a week: and yet the concerted action had been so well arranged, that although news of the disaster had already spread throughout Gaul, not a word had reached him, not a messenger had succeeded in arriving at head-quarters at Samarobriua. A Gallic slave at last passed through, and apprised the proconsul of the extremity to which his lieutenant was reduced. Caesar had within reach only two incomplete legions, scarcely seven thousand men, and the besiegers numbered sixty thousand; nevertheless he at once hastened forward. He had induced a Gallic horseman to take charge of a despatch written to Cicero in Greek, that the besiegers might not understand it if it fell into their hands. He had enjoined him, in case he could not penetrate to the lieutenant, to fasten the letter to his javelin and throw it into the camp. The shaft remained fixed in a tower for two days without being noticed; when it was at length brought to Cicero, who read to his troops Caesar's words, that he was on the way and would soon arrive, and exhorting the lieutenant to show his wonted bravery.

The burning of their dwellings announced to the Nervii the general's approach: they advanced to meet him, and he, feigning terror, hid himself in a camp, the boundary of which he purposely made smaller than usual, and walled up the gates with clods of turf. Emboldened by these signs of fear, the Barbarians advanced without order and on disadvantageous ground: a vigorous sortie



dispersed them, and the victors easily reached the camp of Cicero, where not one soldier in ten was without some wound.<sup>1</sup>

Caesar had reached Cicero's camp after three o'clock in the afternoon: before midnight, the acclamations of the Remi announced to Labienus, who was sixty miles away (fifty-five English miles), the proconsul's victory and the end of the danger. The report of this double success put a stop in fact to all movements then on foot.

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon says, in his "Précis des Guerres de César," "The arms of our soldiers have as much strength and vigor as those of the ancient Romans; our pioneers' tools are the same; we have one agent more, gunpowder. We can therefore raise ramparts, dig ditches, cut down woods, and build towers in as short a time and as well as they could; but the weapons of offence of the moderns have a totally different power, and act in an entirely different manner from those of the ancients.

"The Romans owe their constant success to the method, from which they never departed, of encamping every night in a fortified camp, of never giving battle without an intrenched camp in their rear to serve as a retreat and to hold their stores, their baggage, and their wounded. The nature of weapons in that age was such, that in these camps they were not only sheltered from the assaults of an army equal in strength, but even from those of one superior. They were in a position to fight, or to wait for a favorable opportunity. . . .

"Why has so wise a rule been abandoned by modern generals? Because weapons of offence have undergone a change in their nature. Hand-weapons were the chief arms of the ancients: with his short sword the legionary conquered the world; with the Macedonian spear, Alexander subdued Asia. The principal arm of modern armies is the projectile, the gun, that weapon superior to any other that man has ever invented: no defensive arm can ward it off. . . .

"The principal weapon of the ancients being the sword or the spear, they formed in deep order. The legion and the phalanx, in whatsoever situation they might be attacked, — whether in front, or on the right or left flank, — faced about in any direction without disadvantage. The legions were able to encamp on spaces of small extent, in order to have less trouble in fortifying the entire circumference. . . . The soldiers, each working thirty minutes at most, fortified the camp, and placed it beyond reach of assault.

"The principal weapon of the moderns being the projectile, their usual order is necessarily the open one.

"That the Romans were almost constantly defeated by the Parthians was due to the fact that the Parthians were all armed with a projectile superior to that of the Roman army, which the shields of the legions could not ward off. The legions, armed with their short swords, fell beneath a shower of arrows, to which they could oppose nothing, since they were only armed with javelins (*pila*). . . .

"A consular army shut up in its camp, and attacked by a modern army of equal strength, would be driven out of it without an assault, and without coming to a hand-to-hand fight, for its camp would be the receptacle of every shot, every bullet, every cannon-ball; fire, destruction, and death would open the gates, and overthrow the intrenchments. . . . Fire from a centre to a circumference is nothing; but fire from a circumference to a centre is irresistible.

"These considerations have decided modern generals to renounce the system of intrenched camps, and to supply their place by natural positions carefully chosen.

"A Roman camp was independent of localities: all were equally good for armies whose strength lay in hand-weapons. Neither experienced eye nor military genius was needed to encamp well; whereas the choice of positions, the manner of occupying them, and of disposing the various arms, taking advantage of the circumstances of the ground, gives scope for the exercise of the military genius of the modern general."

But the whole of Gaul was agitated: the tribes exchanged secret embassies; the Carnutes had slain their king, a friend of the Romans; the Senones had condemned to death Cavarinus, whom Caesar had set over them; and the Treviri were pressing the Germans to hasten their coming. The proconsul deemed it prudent to pass that winter in Gaul. He took up his quarters at Samarobriua, within reach of those tribes of Belgium and Armorica whom the death of Sabinus had rendered so hopeful. Only the Remi and the Aedui never wavered in their fidelity, for which they would have paid dearly had Caesar been conquered. Even before the spring had arrived, Indutiomarus, with the Treviri, made an attack upon the camp of Labienus. The latter, imitating his leader's tactics, allowed himself for several days to be insulted by the Gauls, who came up to the very foot of the rampart and challenged him. But one evening, as Indutiomarus was retiring in careless order with some of his men, Labienus ordered a sudden sally of his cavalry, promising great reward to the man who should bring him back the head of the hostile leader. Indutiomarus fell, covered with wounds. His death dispersed his army, and stopped the Eburones, the Nervii, the Aduatuci, and the Menapii, who were already on the march to join him.

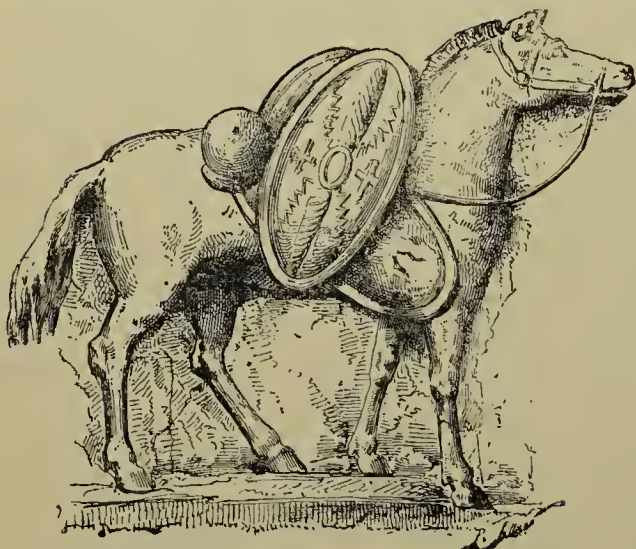
To the general assembly which the proconsul held at Samarobriua early in the spring, the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treviri refused to send their deputies: this was a declaration of war. Caesar accepted it with joy; for he needed to raise the reputation of his arms by brilliant successes, and had prepared himself during the winter by calling up three new legions from Italy.<sup>1</sup> He prorogued the assembly, the next meeting of which he fixed to take place at Lutetia, in the country of the Parisii, nearer the insurgent tribes. This is the first appearance in history of the great city; and the founder of the Roman Empire is the first to pronounce its name.

From Samarobriua, Caesar quickly reached the country of the Senones. They had not completed their preparations: they asked for peace. The proconsul had determined to make a severe example of this tribe; but the intervention of the Aedui, their former allies, saved them. The Carnutes also owed their safety to the mediation of the Remi. But the two tribes delivered up all their cavalry

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, thirty cohorts, to replace the fifteen lost with Sabinus. He had now ten legions in Gaul.



and numerous hostages. The wrath of the proconsul fell upon the Treviri and upon Ambiorix and the Eburones. To make his vengeance complete, he surrounded them. The Menapii—their neighbors on the north, who alone of all the Gauls had never sent deputies to Caesar—were assailed by five legions. Being surprised and driven into their woods, they sued for peace. The Treviri bordered on the territory of the Menapii: led on by a ruse of Labienus to engage in battle before the arrival of their expected German auxiliaries, they lost a great number of men, and were compelled to accept as king Cingetorix, whom they had expelled. Then turning eastward, in order to close Germany against the nation whom he wished to proscribe, Caesar threw a bridge over the Rhine, scoured the other bank for some distance, forbade the tribes who dwelt there to have any relations with Gaul, after which, certain that the Eburones could not escape him, he returned to them. His cavalry



PACK-HORSE CARRYING SHIELDS (TRAJAN'S COLUMN).

went forward in advance of the legions, and fell like a thunderbolt into the midst of this people, doomed to extermination, whilst the ten legions surrounded the country, and, drawing closer and closer together, burnt and slew all they came across. Caesar, who called this valiant tribe "an impious race," invited the neighboring nations to help him in the work of destruc-

tion. The villages were burnt, the grain was cut, and for several months man-hunting was carried on in the immense forest of Arduenna, into which the Eburones had plunged. Ambiorix escaped across the Rhine, there to await better days.

Returning to the territory of the Remi, Caesar called together



ACCO, CHIEF OF THE SENONES.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Youthful head. On the reverse, [ECC]AIOS, and a horseman brandishing a sword (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 41).

the general assembly, and, with an empty semblance of justice, made it judge the Senonian Acco, leader of the revolt. The sentence was dictated beforehand. Acco was beaten with rods, and beheaded. Civil and religious excommunications were issued against his accomplices and the authors of the rising among the Carnutes who had not been seized.

## VII. — SEVENTH CAMPAIGN: GENERAL RISING (52 B.C.).

THESE executions increased the hatred of the Roman name. During the winter, which Caesar passed in Italy, a second rising was arranged in numerous secret meetings: the Gauls were at length uniting. It was very late; but yet they were on the verge of succeeding.

It was known that at Rome an increasing misunderstanding existed between Caesar and Pompey, and that the proconsul of the Gauls would perhaps be detained in Italy by a civil war. The legions were not dispersed as in the preceding year: two were encamped among the Treviri; two, among the Lingones; the remaining six, in the territory of the Senones; and, as the winter closed the passes of the Alps and the Cevennes, it was hoped, that, if the movement were general, they would be surprised and crushed before Caesar could join them.

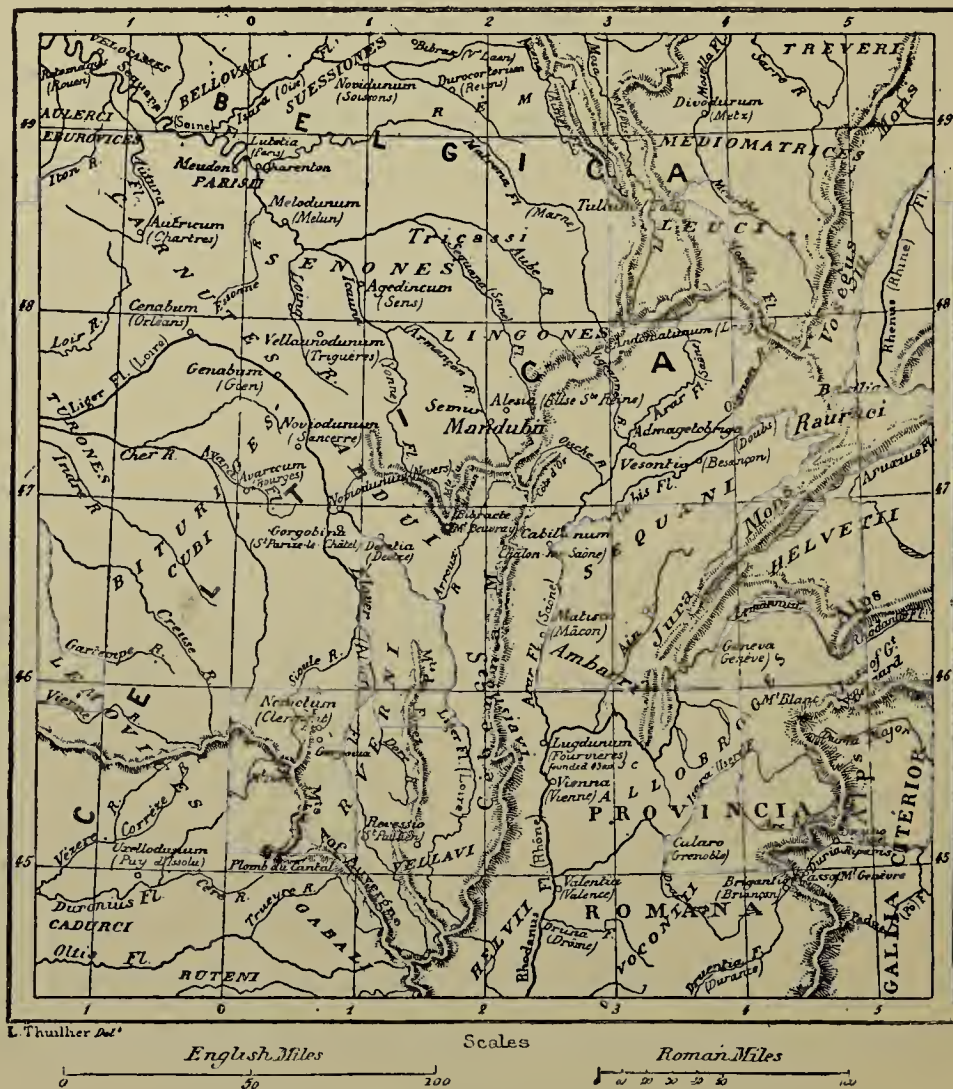
The rising went forth from the Druidic centre of Gaul, in the country of the Carnutes, who had lately been overwhelmed with requisitions. On the day appointed, this tribe fell upon Genabum (Orleans), a trading-town on the banks of the Loire, and massacred the Italian merchants, who had flocked thither in great numbers. The same evening the news, carried from village to village by criers stationed along the roads, reached Gergovia, a hundred and forty-seven miles distant.

This was the home of a young and noble Arvernian: tall in stature, martial in air, his very name was of good augury: he was called "the great chief of the brave,"<sup>1</sup>—Vercingetorix. His father had perished in the attempt to usurp the royalty, and yet

<sup>1</sup> Such is the meaning given to this name by M. de Belloguet.



the son was filled with a like ambition. Being a personal friend of Caesar, he had no doubt contributed to keep the Arverni at peace during the first campaigns; but seeing the agitation of the popular party throughout Gaul, and the success which Ambiorix had been on the verge of obtaining, he perceived that there was



MAP OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 52 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

a great part to play. In public assemblies and religious meetings he allowed his idea to be inferred rather than expressed. But it was revealed in secret councils, where, as the prize of their valor, he held up before the eyes of his party Arvernia raised from her low estate, and placed at the head of the Gallic nations whom she had rescued from slavery to a foreign power.

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 113.

As soon as he heard of the massacre at Genabum, he armed his clients, and proclaimed insurrection in Gergovia. The chief men of the tribe, and even his uncle, refuse to associate themselves with his designs, and are sufficiently powerful to drive him from the town. He raises the country; and Caesar, who on this occasion is unjust to his greatest adversary, speaks of him as forming an army of outlaws and fugitives. They were certainly a concourse of poor men; but they were those, too, who refused to submit to the foreigner's rule, and they must have formed the great majority of the nation, since they overcame the opposition of the nobles without recourse to arms. Vercingetorix, re-entering Gergovia with them, is then proclaimed king, and becomes the leading spirit of the war of independence. He sends urgent messages to all the tribes; he reminds them of the oaths they had sworn; points out the favorableness of the occasion and the necessity for throwing off the yoke which has been so long concealed by a show of friendliness, and now weighs so heavily upon all. From the Garonne to the Seine all the States responded to his appeal, and the conduct of the war was intrusted to him.

VERCINGETORIX.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Arverni and the people of Central Gaul, who had hitherto remained outside the struggle, were about to take the chief part in it. These defections gave the Gauls of the north fresh courage. In spite of the presence of ten legions, the chiefs of the Bellovaci and Treviri, led on by the example of Commius, king of the Atrebates, who had long been the faithful ally of Caesar, prepared their people for insurrection. Labienus thought to avert it by having Commius assassinated; but the Gaul survived his wounds to exact vengeance for them.

Caesar had at length found a worthy foe. Vercingetorix imitated the wonderful activity of the proconsul: he collected provisions and arms; he fixed the numbers of contingents, took hostages, devoted himself to raising a formidable cavalry corps, and gave the whole league an organization which had been lacking in the earlier attempts of the Gauls. But, granting excuse to no man who sought

<sup>1</sup> We have nearly twenty coins of Vercingetorix, and the resemblance between the faces upon them suggests that they represent his features (De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 62).



to desert the country's cause, he showed himself severe even to the point of cruelty. Traitors perished by fire or tortures; for a slight fault he caused a man's ears to be cut off, or his eyes put out, and then sent him home, that the sight of his punishment might be a warning.

Vercingetorix had so suddenly acquired this great authority, only because he represented the national feeling. Priests and nobles had abandoned Gaul: the people rose up to save her, and gathered round the young hero, who exhibited at once his hatred for the invader, and superior talents for organization. His plan of attack was skilful: one of his lieutenants, Lucterius, went southwards towards



LVXTERIOS, CHIEF OF THE CADURCI.<sup>1</sup>

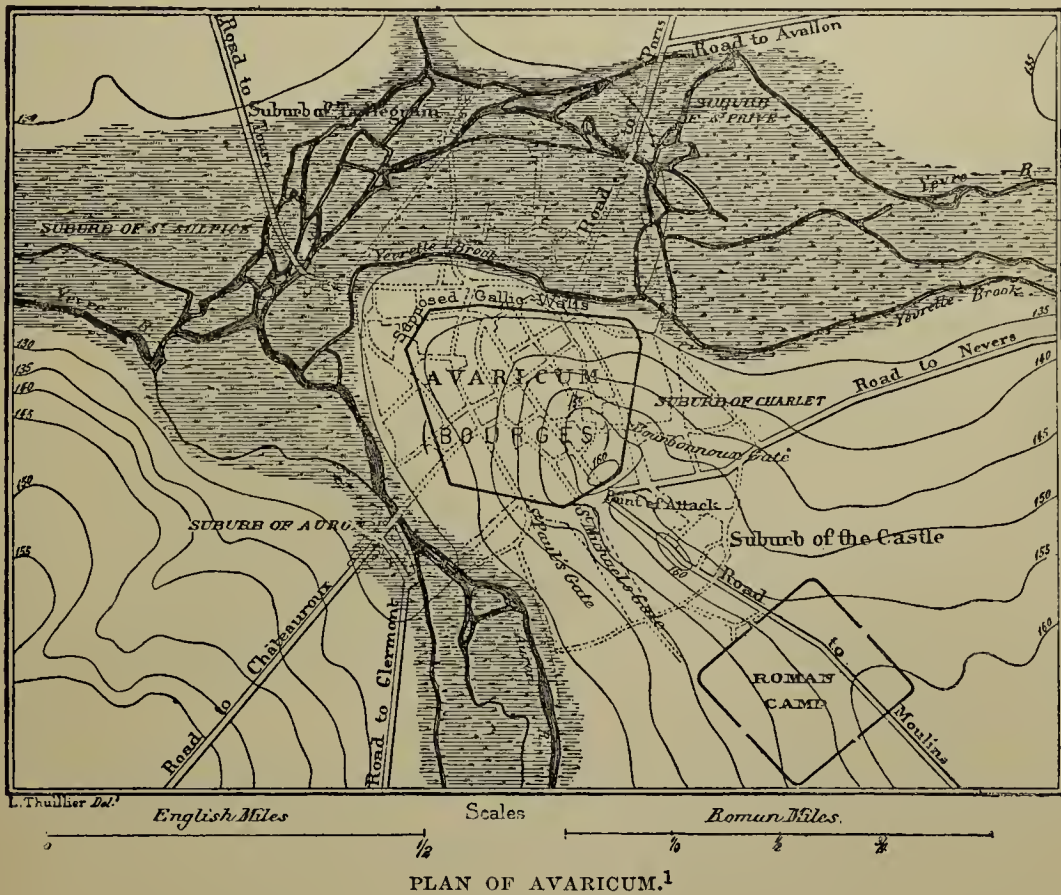
the Province, which he was to invade, while Vercingetorix himself marched northward against the legions. On his way he halted to incite to revolt the Bituriges (Berry), who were clients of the Aedui: in this he succeeded, and the great town of Avaricum opened its gates to him. But this delay allowed Caesar to arrive from Italy. The proconsul had no fear this time that his legions, massed as they were at three points not far distant from one another and kept on the alert by the gravity of the circumstances, would let themselves be taken by surprise, and he took time to organize the defence of Narbonensis. A few days, indeed, sufficed him to see and to do everything,—to drive away the enemy, cross the Cevennes, notwithstanding the six feet of snow, and carry devastation into the territory of the Arverni (winter of 53–52 B.C.).

Vercingetorix was still among the Bituriges when this news reached him. Constrained by the murmurs of his soldiers, he hastened to protect their homes. Caesar was gone: he had crossed the mountains for the second time, obtained a corps of cavalry at Vienne, and, making forced marches along the Rhone and Saône, had, without declaring his presence, traversed the whole country of the Aedui, whose intentions he began to suspect. Already he was in the midst of his legions; and the Belgae suspended their preparations for war.

<sup>1</sup> LVXTERIOS. On the reverse a horse; above, an ornament (De Sauley, *Ibid.* No. 44).

The boldness and activity of the proconsul had foiled the Gallic general's double project. The latter, less eager now to advance northwards, laid siege to the city of the Boii, — Gorgobina.

Caesar had concentrated his forces at Agedincum (Sens). He warned the Boii of his impending arrival, and hastened forward with eight legions. By the bridge of Genabum, Caesar crossed the Loire and took Noviodunum (Sancerre?), the first town of the Bituriges which he came upon. Vercingetorix, hastening up to save it, witnessed its fall, and saw that with such a foeman

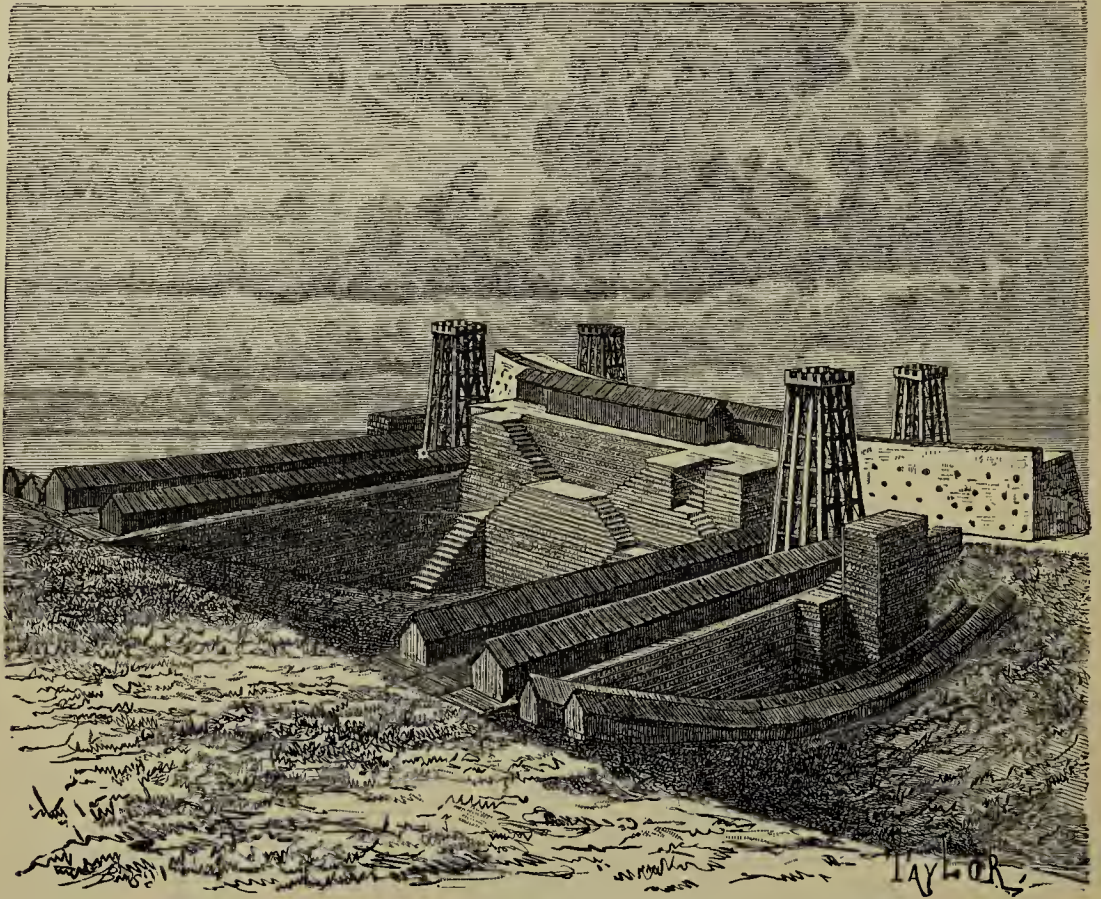


another kind of warfare was required. In one day twenty of their towns were given up to the flames by the Bituriges themselves, and it was decided that, upon the approach of the Romans, each tribe should imitate this heroic devotion. It was their plan to starve the enemy, and compel him to send out distant expeditions in search of provisions, which would allow them to destroy the army in detail. But this resolution, which would have ruined Caesar,

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 18.



was not fully carried out: Avaricum, the capital of the country, was spared. "Do not compel us to destroy with our own hands the most beautiful town in Gaul," said the inhabitants to the council of the army: "we swear to you that we will defend and save it." The council yielded; Caesar immediately hastened thither. Although situated in a plain, this town (Bourges), protected as it



WORKS OF APPROACH OF THE ROMANS<sup>1</sup> (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

was by two rivers and a morass, was difficult of access: the bravest warriors of the Bituriges had shut themselves up in it, and the great Gallic army was encamped a few leagues away, behind the legions, and ceaselessly threw men and provisions into the place. At the end of a few days, Caesar found himself so much at a loss for provisions, that he proposed to his soldiers to

<sup>1</sup> The drawing represents [hypothetically] a portion of Gallic wall in which the stones are intermixed with beams (see p. 277): upon this wall the besieged have raised two towers to counteract those of the besiegers which overtop the ramparts, in order to drive back the defenders with arrows and stones. The *vineae*, or covered galleries, are carried up to the foot of the ramparts, that the soldiers they shelter may make a breach in it.

raise the siege if they felt their privations too severe: they refused with one voice, as if he had required some cowardly act. Satisfied with this proof of their endurance, the proconsul vigorously pushed on the gigantic works which the Roman soldiers knew how to carry out. In twenty-five days they built towers for attack and a terrace three hundred and thirty feet long and eighty feet in height. It was almost close enough to touch the walls, when one night the besieged set fire to it by means of a mine, and then made a sally by two gates, and attacked the works on both sides. But the Romans were on the alert, and after a terrible fight they remained in possession of the ground. Caesar relates that a Gaul, placed before one of the gates, threw balls of tallow and pitch into a fire built opposite one of the towers, to make it burn more fiercely.



SOLDIERS WORKING AT THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AGGER (FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN).

Struck by a shaft from a scorpio, he fell; another immediately took his place; a third succeeded; then a fourth, and, as long as the action lasted, this fatal post never remained empty.

Caesar was less dismayed at their courage than at their aptness in imitating every art of the Romans for rendering the siege useless. "They turned aside our hooks with nooses," says he, "and, when they had entangled them, they drew them within their walls with machines. They came under our earthworks by mining, — a kind of work which is familiar to them on account of the iron mines in which their country abounds. They had lined their walls with towers covered with leather. Night and day they made sorties, set fire to our works, or attacked outworks. As our





arbiter, he repaired to Decetia (Decize), on the territory of the Aedui, because their law forbade the chief magistrate to cross the frontier, and decided in favor of the candidate who had manifestly the greatest number of adherents: this was Convictolitanis, whom the magistrates and priests had chosen. In return, Caesar took from the Aedui all their cavalry and ten thousand foot-soldiers to form a chain of posts for the security of his provision-trains, and promised them that great favors should reward their services after the war.

These services were great, for, by not wavering throughout the whole war, the Aedui and Sequani had insured Caesar free communications with the Province. As long as the broad road of the valley of the Saône remained open to him, he could plunge without fear into the north or centre of the country. He even considered himself strong enough, after the capture of Avaricum, to divide his forces. Labienus with four legions marched from the country of the Senones against the Parisii, whom Vercingetorix had stirred up to revolt, whilst he himself led the remaining six against the Arverni through the valley of the Allier. The Gallic leader had broken down all the bridges, and now followed along the left bank the movements of the legions on the opposite side. Caesar by stealth repaired one of the bridges, and crossed the river: he could not, however, induce Vercingetorix to accept battle in the plain, and when the proconsul appeared before the capital of the league, — Gergovia of the Arverni, a league and a half to the south of Clermont-Ferrand, — the Gallic army covered it.

The plateau on which Gergovia lay was about a mile long and a quarter of a mile in breadth. It was situated at a height of over a thousand feet above the plain, and twice as much above the level of the sea. On the north and east, the ascent to this plateau was so steep as to be impracticable; on the south there was a long slope; and on the west a narrow defile (*les Goules*) connected it with the heights of Risolles, also a plateau, lying somewhat lower than Gergovia. Opposite the southern slope rose a very steep hill, now called the Roche-Blanche. Two brooks, the Auzon and the Artières, flow, one north, the other south, of Gergovia. Caesar established his camps near the Auzon, that is to say, in the plain to the east of the town. Vercingetorix encamped on the Risolles; and an outpost stationed at the Roche-Blanche allowed him to obtain supplies of



forage and water from the valley of the Auzon. From their lines, the Romans could see the army of Vercingetorix ranged along the slopes, and every morning at sunrise they could recognize the officers who came to the general's tent to receive his instructions.<sup>1</sup> Caesar had taught the Gauls how to intrench themselves. "Vercingetorix was encamped," he says, "near the town on the hill, where he had disposed the forces of the several States around him in different divisions separated from one another by moderate intervals. As his army possessed all the summits of the mountain whence there was any prospect into the plains below, they made a formidable appearance."

His first care was to capture by night the post of Roche-Blanche, leave a strong contingent there, and dig between that hill and his principal camp a double trench twelve feet deep, which allowed him to go from one position to the other under cover. Numerous machines arranged along the ramparts were held in readiness to sweep the plain: they were destined shortly to save the army.

Litavicus, the leader of the Aeduan auxiliaries sent to Caesar's camp, had fomented an insurrection among his troops, and was desirous of leading them over to Vercingetorix. The proconsul, being warned of this dangerous plot, hastened with four legions without baggage to meet the insurgents, and brought them back to his own side. But not-

LITAVICUS.<sup>2</sup>

withstanding the precautions which had been taken to conceal the departure of the principal forces of the Romans, it had not escaped Vercingetorix. He, on his part, had seen what was going on in Caesar's lines, and had taken advantage of his absence to attack them. Fabius the lieutenant had made a skilful use of the two legions which remained to him: he had repulsed all assaults, — thanks to the machines, the artillery of the Romans, — but he had been reduced to blocking up the gates, which was only resorted to

<sup>1</sup> The Gauls had adopted Roman customs. It was usual for a tribune to come each morning by order to the proconsul or praetor in command of the army, and deliver into his hands the muster-rolls. (*App. Bell. civ.* v. 45.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Litavicus, chief of the Aedui. Head of Venus on the right; a sceptre in front of the face. On the reverse LITAVICOS galloping, and carrying the national standard, the wild boar ensign (*De Saulcy, Numismatique, etc.*, No. 14).

in cases of great danger, and he called Caesar back in all haste. On the following day the proconsul re-appeared: he had marched forty-six miles, going and returning, in twenty-four hours.

He had thus escaped two dangers; but the Aeduan sedition led him to foresee another and greater one, — an insurrection, a general one this time, of Gaul. He was preparing, therefore, to abandon the siege and concentrating his army, when, during a visit to the works of the smaller camp, he perceived that by seizing a hill (above Merdogne), whence the Gauls had retired to strengthen the defence of the plateau of Risolles, he could reach an outer wall built around the town, which was easy to surmount, and attack one of the gates of the *oppidum* itself. The attempt, however, which was not successful, cost the proconsul seven hundred men, of whom forty-six were centurions.



TEUTOMATUS, KING OF  
THE NITIOBRIGES.<sup>1</sup>

It was a check. He imputed it to his legionaries, which was an injustice: he reproached them for not having ceased the fight as soon as he had sounded the retreat. But all could not hear the signal; and the arrangements he had made showed his intention of carrying the place by a rapid *coup de main*.

Two days after, Caesar offered battle to Vercingetorix in the plain; but the latter carefully avoided accepting it, and contented himself with skirmishing with his cavalry. "Judging from this," says the proconsul, "that the pride of the Gauls was humbled and the courage of his own men confirmed," he marched away in the direction of the country of the Aedui in order to join Labienus, who was eighty leagues distant, and, again rebuilding a bridge, hastened to place the Allier between himself and the great Gallic army.

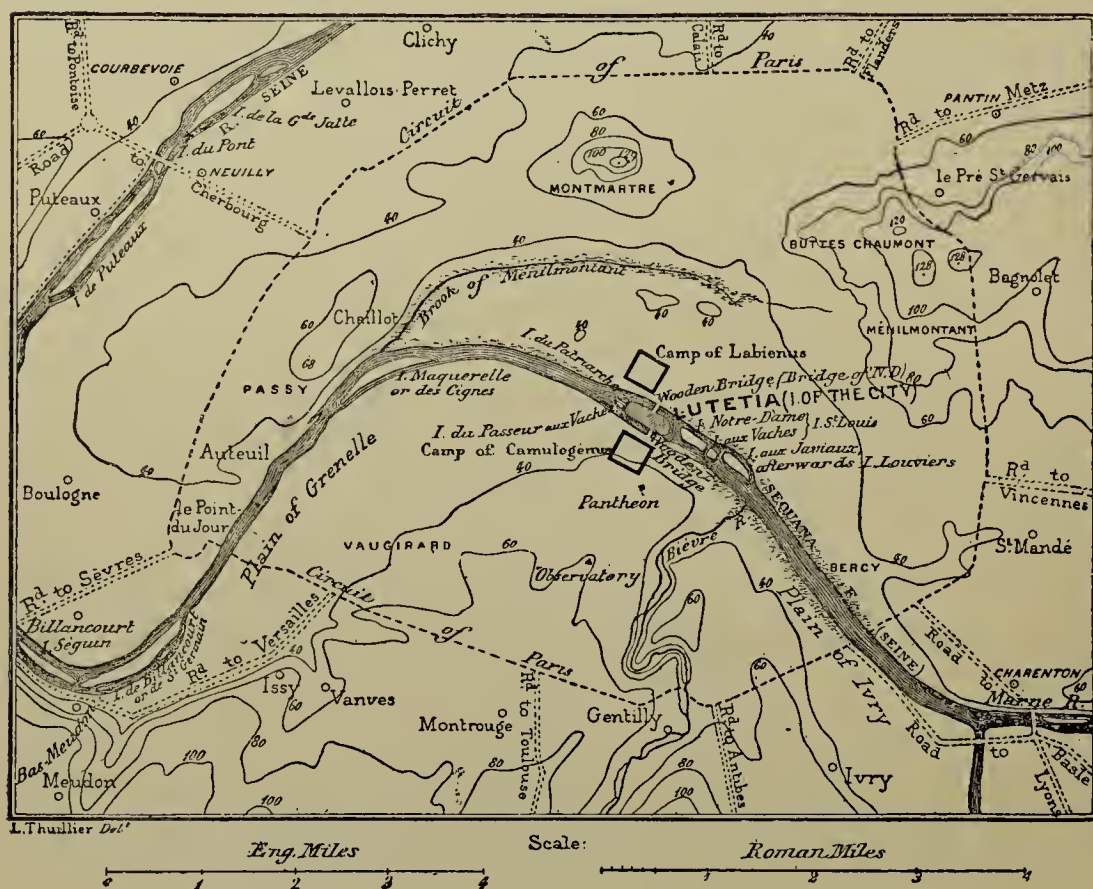
This backward march looked like a defeat; and the emissaries of Vercingetorix proclaimed it everywhere as such. The Aedui thought Caesar's fortune would not recover from the blow, and, fearing lest the Gallic cause should triumph without them, they decided upon going over to the national party, bearing with them as

<sup>1</sup> Votomapatris, King of the Nitiobriges, called by Caesar Teutomatus. Bust of the chief. On the reverse . . . OMAPATIS; free horse galloping; underneath, a bird (De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 45). The legend on the left, C. AIV IVLI, shows that this chief, who was made a citizen by Caesar, took his name (*De Bell. Gall.* vii. 31, 46).



a pledge of alliance the news of the massacre in all Aeduan towns of Caesar's recruits, the Italian merchants, and the hostages of the Remi who had remained faithful to their Roman friends.

This defection placed the army in serious peril, shut in as it was upon the delta formed by the Loire and the Allier (then swollen with the rains) at their junction, and by the Cevennes, whence they both descend. Beyond the Allier was the victorious army of Vercingetorix; beyond the Loire, the country of the Aedui in revolt. There were no provisions and no passage; for the town of



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LUTETIA.

Noviodunum of the Aedui (Nevers) — where were his stores, baggage, the treasure-chest of the army, and a bridge by which he had expected to cross the river — had just been destroyed. Many advised him, therefore, to return into the Province. He thought that if he could effect a junction with the army of Labienus, he should then be strong enough, with a body of ten legions, to re-open the road to Gallia Narbonensis: moreover, he had embarked his whole

political fortune in this war; if he were conquered in Gaul, he would be proscribed at Rome. He rejected, therefore, every project of retreat, and advanced boldly into the north, leaving a hundred thousand Gauls between him and the Province. By careful search he found a ford across the Loire: the water rose to the men's shoulders; but the cavalry, stationed higher up stream, broke the force of the current. Then he reached by forced marches the country of the Senones, the capital of which, Agedincum (Sens), contained the depots of the legions of Labienus. That able lieutenant was returning thither, receding, like Caesar, before the revolt of all the tribes of the north.

The northern league had for its leader the Aulercian Camulogenus, an old warrior, active and skilful, who had made his headquarters at Lutetia. That town was then limited to the island in the Seine. Labienus at first tried to reach it by following the left bank of the river. Being stopped by the Gauls before the marshes of Essonne, or l'Orge, he retreated as far as Melodunum (Melun), seized all the boats that he could find, captured that town, which like Lutetia was situated on an island in the river, and crossed over to the other side to attack the city of the Parisii from the north. The position was easy of access on that side, and the boats he brought with him from Melun served for crossing the Marne, the only obstacle on the right bank of the Seine which could have stopped him. Camulogenus, fearing lest he should be stormed in his stronghold, burnt the town and the two bridges, and then retired to the heights of the left bank, the highest point of which is now marked by the Pantheon and the Observatory. He knew the Bellovaci were arming in the rear of Labienus, and he was desirous of forcing that general to accept battle with a great river behind him, and hemmed in by two armies.



COIN OF CAMULOGENUS, CHIEF  
OF THE AULERCI.<sup>1</sup>

But Labienus eluded his vigilance. While five cohorts, the baggage and some of the boats went up the Seine with a great noise, others slipped silently down towards Point-du-Jour in the first watch, about ten o'clock at night. Boats carried them across

<sup>1</sup> Head of Apollo. On the reverse CAMBIL and a lion. Attributed, but not with certainty, to Camulogenus. (De Saulcy, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 43).



the great arm of the river, into the islands of Billancourt and Séguin, which served as a curtain to screen their passage. Three legions massed in this shelter rapidly crossed the small arm, and suddenly descended upon the left bank. A violent storm had made the darkness deeper, and drowned the noise. At first they found only sentinels, who were captured. When the sun appeared, the Roman army was drawn up in battle-array in the plain of Grenelle, whence by a gentle ascent it could reach the plateau, turning the position of Camulogenus by the plain of Montrouge.

The old general, deceived by the movements farther up the Seine, had sent part of his forces in that direction: with the remainder he tried to drive the Romans back into the river. The action was a bloody one. Camulogenus and almost all his warriors perished in it. By this success Labienus only secured his retreat: he hastened to reach the territory of the Senones where Caesar had already arrived.<sup>1</sup>

A new assembly of all the deputies of Gaul confirmed Vercingetorix in his command. Three tribes alone avoided appearing thereat: the Lingones, the Remi, and the Treviri. Finding the enemy superior in cavalry, Caesar obtained from the German nations, subjugated the previous year, several bands; and on their arrival, observing them to be poorly mounted, he distributed among them the horses of the tribunes, and even of the knights and volunteers. He now directed his march towards the Province, which Vercingetorix was threatening. The Gallic leader had commissioned the Aedui and the Segusiavi, their clients, to stir up the Allobroges, who remained faithful to Rome; the Gabales (Gévaudan) and some Arvernian troops had been ordered to ravage the territory of the Helvii (Vivarais); and the Ruteni and Cadurci (Rouergue and Quercy), to invade the country of the Volcae Arecomici (Bas-Languedoc). He himself, with fifteen thousand horse and a large number of infantry, proposed to follow Caesar, and, avoiding an engagement, to cut off his provisions, capture his forage-parties, burn villages and crops on his approach; in a word, to lay waste the country around him, and reduce him by famine. This was the plan that Vercingetorix had proposed at the commencement of the great war, and it

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon III. places their uniting point at Joigny; the Duc d'Aumale, at Vitry-la-Ville.

was an excellent one, provided it were strictly carried out. Caesar had taken the road along the frontier of the Lingones in order to cross the Saône and reach Sequania, avoiding the great centre of the insurrection, which was now in the Aeduan country. This line of march also led him towards the enemy, and it might, perhaps, furnish him with the opportunity for a battle.

He was not deceived in this expectation. When Vercingetorix saw the Romans approaching the Saône, he feared that Caesar, escaping from him, would return with larger forces, and he decided to risk at least a cavalry engagement.<sup>1</sup> Calling together his officers, he addressed them in an encouraging harangue. "His words," says Caesar, "were followed by the acclamations of all the cavalry, who proposed taking an oath never to return to their homes, nor visit their parents, wives, and children, if they did not twice pierce through the Roman army from one end to the other."

The Romans were not aware of the neighborhood of the Gauls until the latter suddenly attacked their marching column. Caesar at once opposed his cavalry to the Gallic horse, while the legions, brought into line, stood ready to furnish support when the cavalry seemed too closely pressed. By this method he rendered the attack of the enemy less vigorous, and increased the courage of his own troops, thus secure of support. The German auxiliaries gaining an advantage, it became evident that the Gauls were panic-struck: the battle changed to a rout. Vercingetorix retreated towards Alesia,<sup>2</sup> followed closely by Caesar, who arrived before the town two days afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> The place of the battle is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Alise-Sainte-Reine, a village in the department of the Côte-d'Or, six miles and a quarter north-east of Semur. Not less than a library of books have been written for and against Alise-Sainte-Reine. Alaise in Franche-Comté still has partisans, and search has been made in Bresse, near Izernore, and even in Savoy, near Novalaise, to discover the spot where the great drama related in the "Commentaries" was enacted. The excavations made at Alise-Sainte-Reine have brought to light part of the works described by Caesar; and the coins found in these excavations — a hundred and thirty-four Roman denarii and five hundred Gallic pieces — are all anterior to Caesar's expedition, or contemporary with the siege, not one among them being later than the year 51 B.C. The latest Roman denarius is of the year 54 B.C.; and the Gallic coins are just such as an allied army would leave. They belong to the Sequani, the Pictones, Carnutes, Bituriges, Volcae, Santones, and especially to the Arverni; a few from Marseilles had been brought into the revolted countries by commerce. Upon them may be read the names of several leaders of the insurrection, — Vercingetorix, Tasgetius, Litavicus, Epasnaetus. All the Roman denarii were found in one of the trenches of Caesar's camp, the one which faced



Alesia, the chief city of the Mandubii, situated upon the top of a steep hill (Mount Auxois),<sup>1</sup> was considered one of the strongest places in Gaul. Upon the eastern slopes of the hill, Vercingetorix marked out a camp for his still numerous army, which could scarcely, however, have amounted to the eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse which Caesar allows him.<sup>2</sup> He protected it with a trench and a wall six feet in height of unhewn stones: it was the position at Gergovia repeated, and the Gallic leader counted upon the same success. When Caesar had examined the place and the Gallic camp, he conceived the bold idea of ending the war at one blow by besieging town and army at the same time. He established his infantry on the hills surrounding Mount Auxois, and his cavalry in the lower ground. These camps, with twenty-three redoubts (*castella*), formed a line of investment ten miles in length. The redoubts were occupied in the day by sentinels to guard against surprise; and by night strong bodies of troops bivouacked there. While these works were in process of construction, a cavalry engagement took place in the plain of Laumes, on the west of Alesia, where again the Germans and the assistance of the legions routed the Gallic horse with great confusion and slaughter.

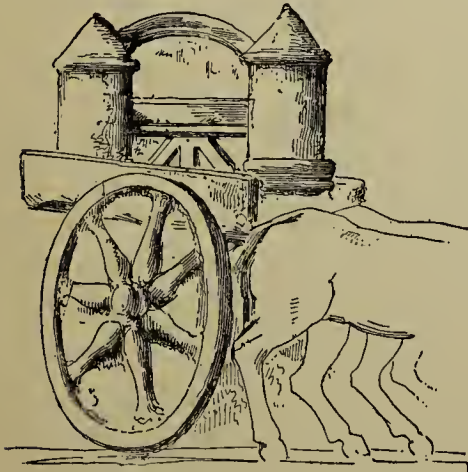
Shortly after this, Vercingetorix decided to send away his cavalry, and concentrate his remaining forces within the town. At parting, he enjoined them to repair to their respective states,

Mount Réa, where the legions lost heavily; all the Gallic pieces, upon Mount Réa, on the left bank of the former bed of the Rabutin and on the same bank of the Ozerain, that is to say, in the places where the army of relief made the most furious attacks.

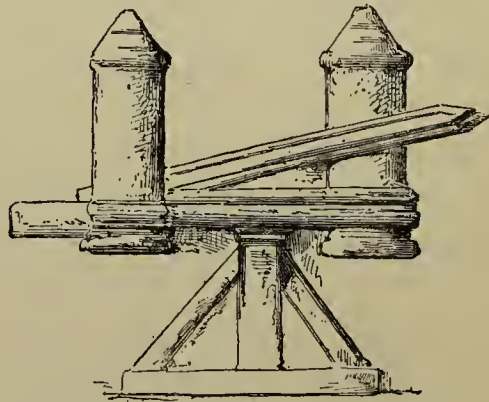
<sup>1</sup> It rises from five hundred and twenty-five to six hundred feet above the surrounding ground, and the plateau in which it ends is six hundred and fifty feet long by twenty-six hundred broad: two streams wash its base. The plain of Laumes on the west has a stretch of nearly three miles; everywhere else a ridge of high hills surrounds Mount Auxois, at a distance of about a mile.

<sup>2</sup> There can scarcely be found on Mount Auxois the space necessary for so many men and horses, the baggage, the camp-followers, and the Mandubii who had taken refuge in the *oppidum*; and although Caesar confirms these figures by saying that he sent away twenty thousand Arverni and Aedui free, and that each of his sixty thousand soldiers had a Gallic slave, I believe the numbers are greatly exaggerated. The first battle and the rout must have much diminished the Gallic army, but it did not suit Caesar to say so; and Roman generals never failed to exaggerate the number of their foes. Otherwise it would be astonishing that this numerous army should not have foiled the work of investment. When the best soldiers of Vercingetorix, his cavalry, were gone, he had only a mob left rather than an army, and, when once the plain of Laumes was cut by a trench, sorties became impossible, on account of the twenty-three *castella* raised on the hills, whence the machines swept all the passages. According to M. de Rochas (*Balistique de l'Antiquité*), the maximum range of ancient machines was four hundred and eighty yards.

and assemble all the men capable of bearing arms, that they might hasten to the relief of Alesia. Vercingetorix dwelt upon the many services he had done the Gallic nations, and conjured them not to abandon him and the eighty thousand men who were with him to the vengeance of the enemy. He explained to them that there was in the town a supply of provisions for thirty days, which perhaps by great care could be made to last a few days longer, and he bade them remember, that, unless relief arrived before the expiration of that time, he and all who were with him must perish. After giving them these instructions, he sent them quietly away at nine o'clock in the evening. He then ordered the people of the town to bring to him all their corn, threatening them with death in case of disobedience; and all the cattle in the place, which



MACHINE DRAWN BY HORSES.



THE SAME MACHINE ON THE GROUND.

had been driven in by the Mandubii, he distributed among his soldiers in preparation for the siege.

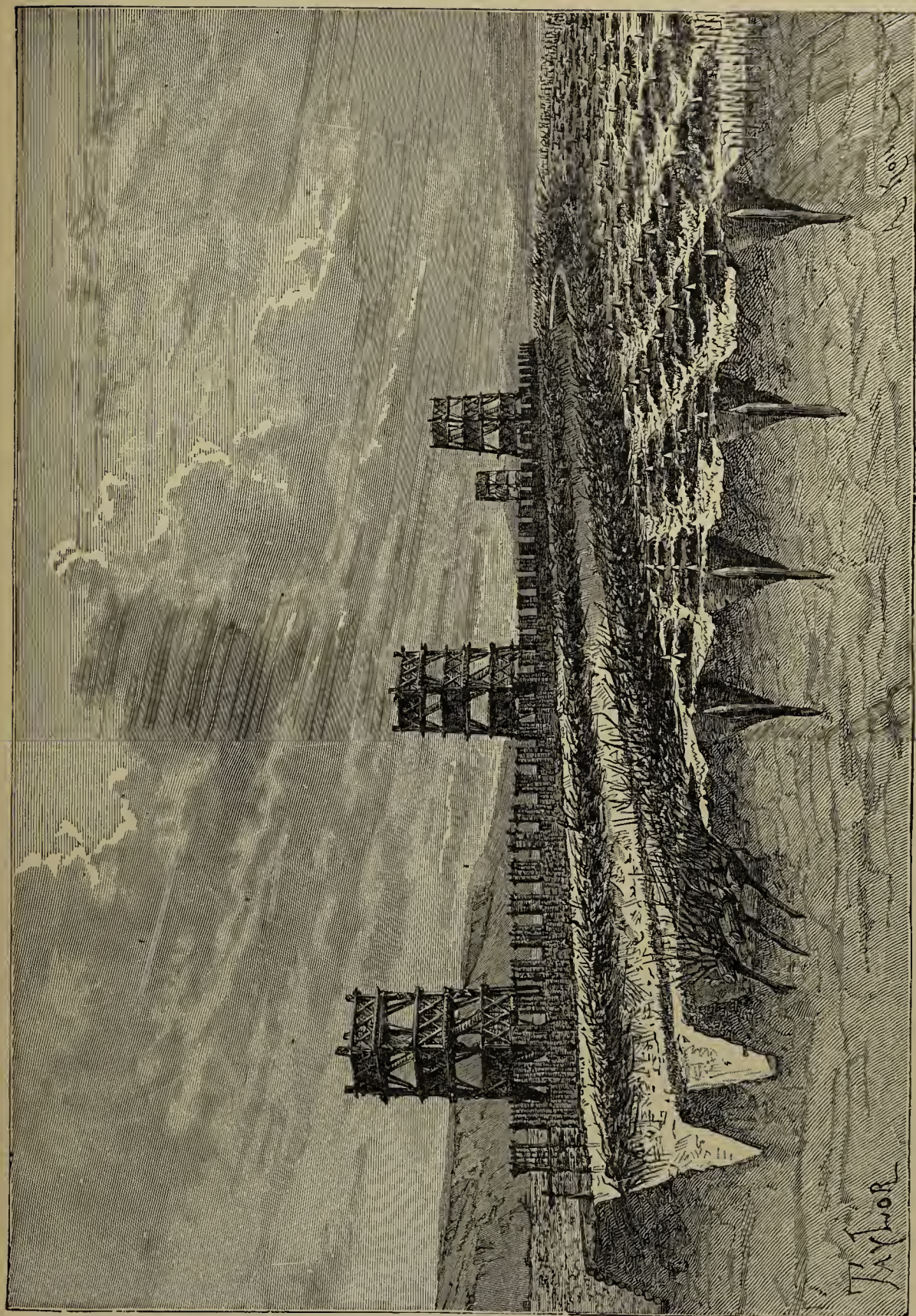
Caesar meanwhile was commencing those enormous works which are minutely described in his "Commentaries," and have excited the admiration of the great Condé. He commenced by intersecting the plain which lay westward of the town with a trench, from the Oze to the Ozerain, twenty feet in width, and having perpendicular sides. Having thus barred the principal way of escape, he proceeded with his main line, which began at a distance of four hundred feet from this trench, and surrounded the entire hill, with a length of ten miles. There were first two ditches, each fifteen feet wide and of the same depth; the one nearest the town



being filled with water: behind these was a rampart and a palisade, having together a height of twelve feet. Against this was placed a fence of hurdles with battlements; and strong forked branches were fixed horizontally at the junction of the fence and the rampart, to prevent the enemy from getting over. The whole work was flanked with redoubts eighty feet apart.

“But as the soldiers were employed at the same time,” continues Caesar’s narrative, “to fetch wood and provisions, and to work at the fortifications, which considerably lessened the number of troops left to defend the camp, many of them being at a distance on these services; and as the Gauls besides often sallied at several gates with design to interrupt the works, — for all these reasons Caesar judged it necessary to make some addition to his lines, that they might not require so many men to guard them. He therefore took trees of no great height, or large branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the ends, and, running a trench of five feet deep before the lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made fast at bottom, so that they could not be pulled up. This trench was again filled up in such a manner that nothing but the branches of the head appeared, of which the points must have run into those who should endeavor to pass them. As there were five rows of them interwoven in a manner with each other, they could not be avoided. In front of these he caused pits three feet deep to be dug, something narrower at bottom than at top, and fixed in them strong stakes, sharpened at the top, rising only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were set three feet deeper than the pits, for the sake of firmness. The pits were covered over with bushes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them at the distance of three feet from each other. In front of these defences were fixed, at the level of the ground, stakes a foot long to which were attached iron hooks. These caltrops, to which the soldiers gave the name of *stimuli*, were placed everywhere and very near each other.” Moreover, since the besieging army might be attacked from without, — for Caesar knew through deserters that Vercingetorix had appealed to all the Gallic nations to send him aid, — he repeated the same defences on the outside of his camp where it was not protected by the nature of the ground; the outer line of circumvallation being not less than fifteen miles





CAESAR'S WORKS ROUND ALESIA (RECONSTRUCTED FROM HIS DESCRIPTION).





in length. Five weeks, he tells us, and about sixty thousand men, sufficed for all this labor.<sup>1</sup>

Meantime the message sent out by Vercingetorix had not failed of its effect. The Remi, it is true, persisted in their treason; and the Bellovaci declined to join the main army, saying they should wage war independently against the Romans, and were willing to subject themselves to no orders; but at the request of Commius, the king of the Atrabates, who had great influence with them, they finally furnished two thousand men. But a general levy had been made, the whole force numbering two hundred and forty thousand foot-soldiers and eight thousand cavalry.<sup>2</sup>

This enormous army began their march towards Alesia "full of courage and confidence, satisfied," says Caesar, "that the Romans would not be able to support the sight of so prodigious a multitude, especially in an encounter attended with so much hazard, where they must be exposed to a vigorous sally from the town at the same time that they saw themselves surrounded with such numbers of horse and foot. Meanwhile the troops shut up in Alesia, having consumed all their provisions, finding the day appointed for the arrival of succors expired, and knowing nothing of what was going on among their brethren, summoned a council of war to debate on what should be done." Various opinions were expressed: some advised a sally; others, a surrender; one of the chief men proposed that all persons incapable of bearing arms should be killed, and the soldiers be fed upon their dead bodies; finally it was determined to expel from the town all who were unfit for war, and to await for a little longer the coming of succor, before resorting to any more desperate measures. As a result of this decision, the Mandubii, to whom the city belonged, were driven

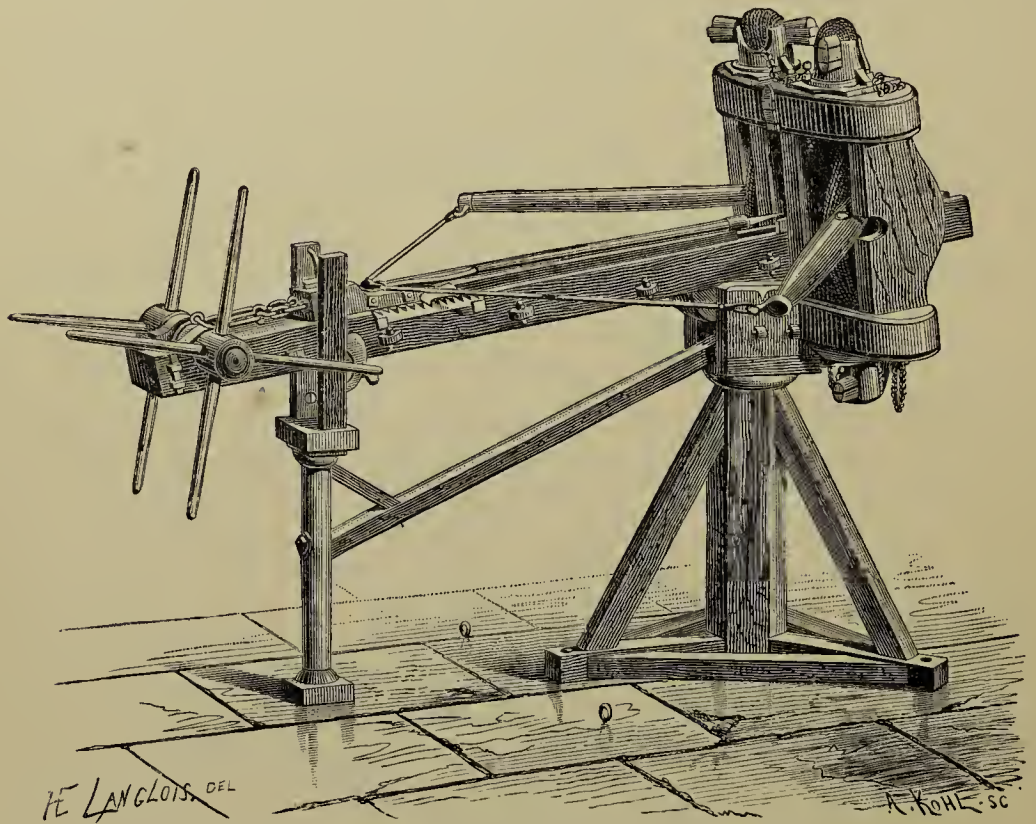
<sup>1</sup> For the details of these works and the results of the excavations made at Alesia, see the "*Histoire de César*," by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 271 *sqq.*, with the woodcuts which accompany the text. The works of circumvallation were only constructed where no natural defences existed, and the Romans found many such upon the hills which surrounded Mount Auxois. As for the trench of twenty feet (the Roman foot is 11.649 inches), that depth was no doubt only reached at certain points; and by its perpendicular sides (*directis lateribus*) must be understood that they were made to slope as little as possible. An eye-witness of the excavations assures me indeed, that the very firm soil admitted of an almost vertical cut.

<sup>2</sup> Another very large number. On this subject, see the discussion of M. Ern. Desjardins (vol. ii. pp. 703-705).



out with their wives and children, and were to be seen a miserable crowd wandering between the camp and the town, vainly begging to be received by the Romans as slaves, until at last they perished by famine.

The relieving army, on arriving, encamped on a hill outside the town, not five hundred paces from the Roman lines, and the next day deployed their cavalry in the plain. The arrival of their brethren raised the courage of the besieged army, and they came out in force, and posted themselves ready for action. Caesar was thus threatened on both sides at once, and he carefully dis-



CATAPULT RESTORED (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

posed his army accordingly, "that in case of need," he says, "every soldier might know his post;" and he then ordered the cavalry to attack the Gallic horse. The engagement lasted, with varying fortunes, from noon till nearly sunset; and for the third time the German cavalry at last secured victory to the Roman side. Meanwhile from the Roman camps and from the town, both armies witnessed the combat, and, when the Romans proved successful, the troops who had quitted Alesia "returned disconsolate into the town."

The day following was spent by the Gauls in the preparation of fascines, ladders, and hooks; these being made ready, towards the middle of the next night they emerged from their camp silently, and approached the Roman works from the outside. Suddenly, with loud outcries, they rushed to the attack, filling up the ditches with their fascines, and attempting to storm upon the rampart. Vercingetorix from within, notified by the shouting, led out his troops, who occupied themselves with filling up the first ditch, hoping to be able to reach the Roman lines. But the Gallic attack on the outside was repulsed and foiled by the obstacles Caesar had prepared; and Vercingetorix again returned with his army back into Alesia without having accomplished anything.



COIN OF VERGASILLAUNUS,  
CHIEF OF THE ARVERNI.<sup>1</sup>

The Gauls, twice repulsed with great loss, now adopted a new plan. North of the town, a hill (Mount Réa) had not been included in the lines on account of its extent, and the Romans had been obliged to post themselves disadvantageously on its slope. It was decided that fifty-five thousand of the best troops of the relieving army should attack from the top of this hill the two legions encamped upon its side, while



COIN OF SEDULLIS.<sup>2</sup>

the cavalry and the other troops should advance upon the line of circumvallation. About noon the attack began; and Vercingetorix, observing these motions, again came forth from the town, carrying the materials he had prepared for the

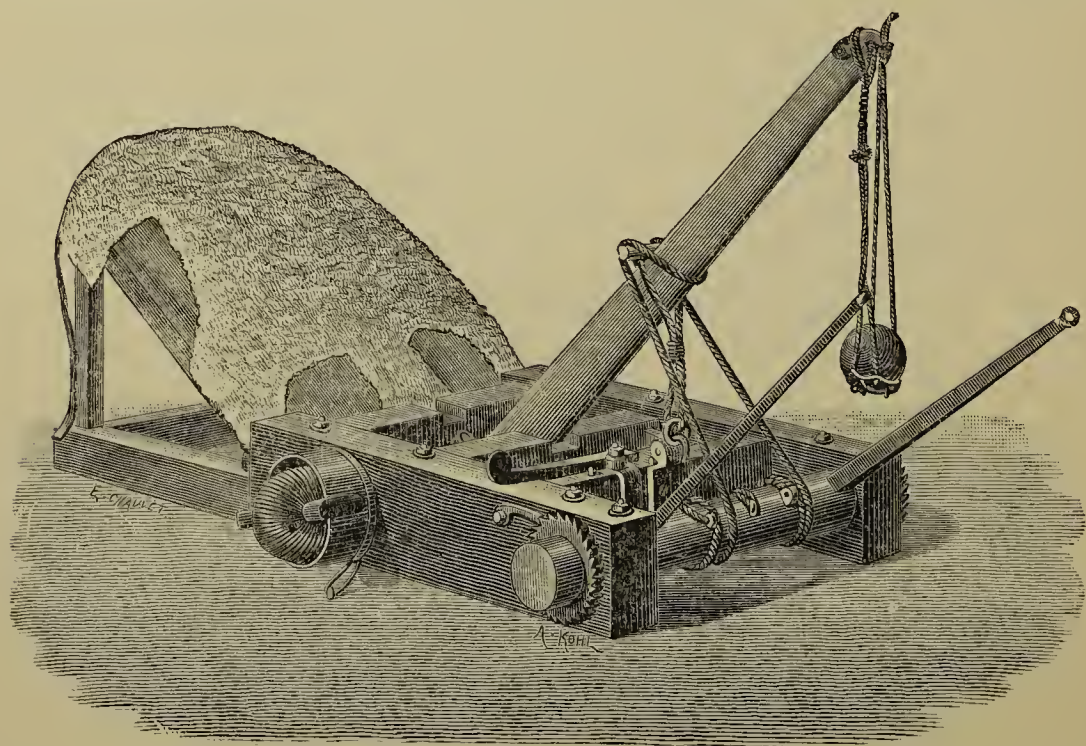
assault. "Thus," says Caesar, "the fight was maintained on all sides at once. The Roman forces, having so many works to guard, were dispersed in different places, and scarce sufficed for the defence of them all. What mostly contributed to disturb them were the cries of the combatants behind, which informed them that their safety depended on the valor of others; for such is the constitution of the human mind, that it always aggrandizes what is absent, and magnifies the danger that is out of sight."

<sup>1</sup> Youthful bust: VERGA. On the reverse, a horse. (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 56.) The traitor Epasnaetus afterwards gave Vergasillaunus up to the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Bare head with fillet and collar. On the reverse, a horseman blowing a trumpet, and bearing a wild boar standard, a wild boar above his head, two behind him, and between the legs of his horse a man knocked down; underneath, the word SEDVLLIS. Coin of the Lemovices. (De Sauley, *Ibid.* No. 47.)



From a hill-top Caesar commanded the entire scene, and sent re-enforcements as they became necessary. The fiercest struggle was upon the hill where the camps were attacked ; and both the strength and the weapons of the Romans were nearly exhausted. Hither Caesar sent Labienus with six cohorts ; but, the attack made by Vercingetorix now becoming successful against the towers of the Roman line, the proconsul was obliged to despatch for their protection Brutus with six cohorts, and then C. Fabius with seven more, and lastly to go himself with all the troops at hand. So large a force compelled the enemy to fall back, upon which Caesar made all



BALISTA RESTORED (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

haste to come to the help of Labienus and the two legions on the hill. He took with him four cohorts and part of the cavalry, and ordered the rest to make a long circuit, and fall upon the enemy's rear. Labienus, having drawn together thirty-nine cohorts from the neighboring redoubts, was about to sally from the camps, and sent to inform Caesar of his intention. The proconsul, just then arriving, was recognized by his purple mantle ; and "a mighty shout," he says, "was raised on both sides, and carried quite around the lines. Then the Romans fell upon the Gauls, sword in hand ; the cavalry appeared in the rear ; fresh cohorts flocked to the spot ; and

the enemy took flight. The slaughter was very great, and, being witnessed from the town, struck terror into the besieged, who drew off their troops from the attack. The relieving army abandoned their camp; "and, had not our troops been wearied out by the continual fatigue of the day," Caesar concludes, "and the frequent re-enforcements they were obliged to furnish, the enemy's whole army might have been exterminated." At midnight the cavalry was ordered in pursuit. The Gallic army had fled so fast that only the rear were overtaken. Of these, some were slain, and a great number taken prisoners. Thus ended the decisive battle of the war.

This time Gaul was finally conquered. Vercingetorix knew it; but his great spirit was not broken. He re-entered Alesia without displaying any fury or clamorous grief, in order to fulfil his last duty. He had not been able to save Gaul by his genius: he hoped at least to save those who had followed him by offering himself to the Romans as an expiatory victim. He called together the

assembly. "I did not undertake this war," said he, "for my own advantage, but to save the common liberty. The fortune of war is against us. I have been your leader: satisfy the Romans by my death, or give me up alive—it matters not which to me." The throng was so downcast that this sacrifice was accepted. They sent deputies to Caesar: he demanded that their arms should be surrendered and all their chiefs should be given up to him. "Vercingetorix," says Dion Cassius, "who had neither been taken nor



VERCINGETORIX (RESTORATION BY MILLET).



wounded, might have fled; but, hoping that the friendship which had formerly bound him to Caesar would procure his pardon, he repaired to the proconsul, without having sent a herald to ask for peace, and appeared suddenly in his presence as Caesar was seated upon his tribunal. His appearance inspired fear; for he was of tall stature, and had a very imposing aspect under arms. There was a deep silence. The Gaulish chieftain fell at Caesar's feet, and implored him by pressing his hands without uttering a word. Caesar, on the contrary, upbraided him with the recollections upon which he hoped for his safety. He compared his recent struggle with the friendship of which he reminded him, and by that means pointed out more vividly the odiousness of his conduct. And thus, far from being touched with his misfortunes at that moment, he threw him at once in fetters, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, after having exhibited him in his triumph" (six years later).

On the news of this great success, the Roman Senate decreed that thanks should be rendered to the gods of Rome by twenty days of solemn festivals. Caesar dared not, however, winter on the Italian side of the Alps: he took up his quarters at Bibracte, in the midst of his legions. He had given up to his soldiers the captives taken at Alesia; so that every legionary had a Gallic slave to sell or keep.<sup>1</sup> For himself he reserved twenty thousand Aedui and Arverni, whom he set at liberty in the hope of winning over those two nations, who did, in fact, give in their submission.

#### VIII. — EIGHTH CAMPAIGN: SUBJECTION OF THE BELLOVACI AND CADURCI (51 B.C.).

THE war was not yet ended, however. The Gauls of the north and west, with the exception of the Nervii, Veneti, and Eburones, had not yet experienced any bloody defeats. In the preceding campaign their contingents had been small, and the

<sup>1</sup> The sale of slaves was very profitable. After the capture of Pindenissum, a small town in Cilicia, Cicero sold them to the amount of twelve million sesterces in the space of three days, and the sale was not then ended (*Ad Att.* v. 20).

losses had fallen principally upon the Arverni and Aedui. Their strength, therefore, as well as their courage, was still unbroken; and experience had taught them what kind of warfare they must wage against the legions, — surprises, partial attacks, but no more



ROMAN SOLDIER.<sup>1</sup>

of those battles in which Roman tactics destroyed vast armies in a day. The activity of Caesar disconcerted this new plan.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the winter he fell upon the Bituriges before they had completed their preparations, and made many thousand prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> Combatant, without either helmet or cuirass, who appears to be opposing his enemy's spear, or rather is preparing to hurl the stones which he carries in his cloak. Statue in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

<sup>2</sup> For the winter he had divided his eleven legions in the following manner: two among the Sequani, the same number among the Remi, one among each of the following tribes, — the Boii, Bituriges, and Ruteni, — one again at Mâcon and Chalon; and he kept two with him at Bibracte. Each legion was commanded by a legate.



He did not, however, lay waste the country at all, and held out liberal conditions of peace, which were gladly accepted. Having rewarded the two legions which had just made this expedition in intensely cold weather, by giving every soldier two hundred sesterces, and every centurion two thousand, he sent them back to their winter-quarters, and himself returned to Bibracte, after an absence of forty days.



GALLIC SOLDIER (?).<sup>1</sup>

The centre of Gaul seemed to be definitely pacified, as the Romans said. But at this moment the north broke out, and first of all the Carnutes, who invaded the territory of the Bituriges, laying it waste with fire and sword. Caesar had not rested more than eighteen days at Bibracte, when news was brought him of the movement among the Carnutes: he at once set out again, took up his position with two legions among the ruins of Cenabum, and thence sent out his cavalry and auxiliaries to scour the country.

<sup>1</sup> This statue, and the one on p. 353, seated on scrolls, must have been ornaments to some villa, and probably represent Gauls (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 854A, Nos. 2155A and 2155B).

It was a war of devastation and pillage; and the soldiers threw themselves into it with an eager desire for gain and a love of murder. A considerable portion of the Carnutian population perished of cold and want in the depths of the woods.

This execution was not yet ended, when a general rising of the nations of the north-east obliged him to hasten with four legions to the help of the Remi, who were seriously menaced.



GALLIC SOLDIER (?).

Ambiorix, at length hearing the rumor of war in Belgica, had issued from the forests of Germany, where he lay hidden; and this time the Bellovaci had risen in mass, supported by the nations of the valleys of the Somme and the Scheldt and by those of the Lower Seine. The proconsul marched towards their country: he found it a desert; and when he met them upon Mount Saint Marc(?), in the forest of Compiègne, their position, protected by marshes, was so strong that he dared not attack them. He was himself obliged to think of providing against surprises by constructing in the enemy's neighborhood a veritable fortress for his four legions, — a camp with a rampart twelve feet high, and sur-



mounted by towers of three stories, connected by galleries, in which the soldiers could fight under cover; two trenches, each fifteen feet wide, were made in front of it. Several days passed in skirmishes between the foragers. Caesar dared not attempt a direct attack, which would oblige him to cross a marshy ground, and then climb heights bristling with defences. He resolved to resort to his great resource, — investment. Three more legions were called up, and the works began. At the sight of the lines so rapidly pushed on by vigorous workers, the Bellovaci remembered Alesia with terror; and one night they sent out of the camp the women, children, and old men, and the numerous carts conveying their baggage. Daylight having overtaken them in that operation, Caesar took advantage of the disorder to approach nearer, in order to find an opportunity of striking some decisive blow. He threw wicker-work bridges over the marshes, and reached a hill adjoining that occupied by the Gauls. The latter lighted great fires along the front of their camp; and behind this curtain of smoke and flames, which the Romans dared not cross for fear of falling into some ambuscade, they escaped. Being overtaken in the neighborhood of the Aisne, they lost the best of their infantry, all their horse, and their chief, Correus, who refused to yield.<sup>1</sup> This reverse



COIN OF DURATIUS.<sup>2</sup>

discouraged them; they implored mercy of the victor; all the cities of the north-east likewise gave hostages. Caesar scoured Belgica, drove Ambiorix, who had entered the territory of his tribe with a few hundred fugitives, back across the Rhine once more, and then returned towards the Loire; for all the cities south of that river had also revolted.

Duratius, a friend of the Romans, had put down the insurrection among the Pictones by seizing their capital. The war in

<sup>1</sup> These encounters are placed by M. de Sauley (*Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, p. 394 *sqq.*) and by Napoleon III. in the forest of Compiègne, on the north of that town. Caesar's first camp must have been at Mount Saint Pierre in Châtres, the second at Mount Collet, the Gauls upon Mount Saint Marc. M. Peigné-Delacourt, who discovered a Roman wooden bridge beneath half a yard of peat in the marsh of Breuil-le-Sec, below Clermont (Oise), places the Roman camp on the hill which commands that town.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Diana: DVRAT. On the reverse, free horse galloping; above, an aedicula or monogram; in the exergue, IVLIOS. Cf. p. 337, the explanation of this name on the coin of Votomapatris; De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 46.

the west was concentrated round that place, which the Gauls besieged, and the Romans advanced to relieve. The lieutenant Caninius had hastened thither from the frontiers of the Province with two legions: Caesar sent him twenty-five cohorts more, under the command of Fabius. The allies, fearing lest they should be shut in between the stronghold and two Roman armies, tried to regain the Loire. Just as they were crossing it, the cavalry of Fabius appeared and threw them back to the left bank; there the cohorts reached them, and this army, too, was destroyed. The Andes, the remnant of the Carnutes, and the Armorican cities gave hostages.

There were brave men who did honor to these last days of Gaul. Let us piously recall their names; for history, like "Old Mortality," should seek through woods and over mountains the spots where martyrs have fallen, should clear away the moss and brambles from the stone of their sepulchres, and bring back to life their forgotten names. Correus, chief of the Bellovaci, who fell in an ambuscade, fought gallantly. The river and the forests were near: he might have fled; he would not, but struck down every



COIN OF CORREUS, CHIEF  
OF THE BELLOVACI.<sup>1</sup>



COIN OF GUTRUATUS, OR  
COTUATUS, CHIEF OF THE  
CARNUTES.<sup>2</sup>

legionary who dared approach him, holding his ground until the enemy overwhelmed him from a distance with a shower of arrows. Gutruatus was the chief of the Carnutes, and, like Correus and Vercingetorix, was the instigator of the desperate

war which his tribe waged against the Romans. Caesar required that he should be given up, and ordered his lictors to beat with rods and then behead the man who had defended his country against him. Drapethis, a Senonian chieftain, had armed his very slaves for the war of liberty. Even after the last disasters, he continued to attack the Romans; being taken prisoner by them, he starved himself to death. Dumnacus, chief of the Andes, plunged into the

<sup>1</sup> Correus, named Cricirus upon coins. Head with helmet and winged horse. (De Saulcy, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 73.)

<sup>2</sup> Cotuatus, or Gutruatus, war-chief of the Carnutes in the seventh and eighth campaigns. Head of Venus and a monogram. On the reverse, a winged lion. (De Saulcy, *Ibid.* No. 22.)



woods, when there was no longer any hope, and left no trace behind him: like Ambiorix, he died unknown, but free. Commius, king of the Atrebatas, had expiated by brilliant services to the Gallic cause his error in having at first been Caesar's friend. Labienus, dreading his influence, had enticed him to an interview. It was agreed that at the moment when the Roman officer Volusenus took the Gaul's hand, the centurions who accompanied him should fall



COIN OF COMMIOUS, CHIEF  
OF THE ATREBATES AND  
MORINI.<sup>1</sup>

upon Commius, and despatch him with their swords. But his friends averted the blow; and Commius, though grievously wounded, escaped. When his people were treating for peace, and wished, in order to save him, to include him among the hostages, he refused.

"I have sworn," said he, "never to meet a Roman face to face again;" and he disappeared into the depths of the woods. Some fugitives joined him there. He continued the war with them, infesting the neighborhood of the camps, and cutting off convoys on their way to the quarters of the legions. One day he met the prefect Volusenus at the head of a detachment of cavalry. The sight of his enemy aroused his anger. The Gauls were fewer in number; but Commius entreated them to help him in his vengeance. By feigning flight, he drew Volusenus far ahead of his men, then wheeled round, fell furiously upon him, and wounded him with a javelin. The Romans hastened up. Commius could not despatch his enemy; but his vengeance was satisfied. He sent deputies to Antony, and offered to lay down his arms on condition of being allowed to live where he would be sure of never meeting a Roman.

The last resistance was offered by an obscure town. The invasion of Caninius in the west had obliged Lucterius, the former lieutenant of Vercingetorix, to give up the idea of another invasion of Gallia Narbonensis, and he had thrown some troops into the little stronghold of Uxellodunum<sup>2</sup> (probably Puy d'Issolu), in the territory of the Cadurci (Quercy).

<sup>1</sup> Head with helmet. On the reverse, a horse running free. Coin of Commius, chief of the Atrebatas and Morini. (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 34.)

<sup>2</sup> At Uxellodunum, Caesar was on the frontier of Aquitania, where he had not yet made his appearance: he went and passed the summer there with two legions, visited Gallia





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